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As I make my farewells as editor, and pass the Journal into the capable hands of Deborah Pollard, I look back over the last two years of the Society's life with great pride and delight.

This bumper issue of the Journal bears testament to the ever-increasing energy and enthusiasm of all its members from the grassroots to the very top. 1997 has been a year of tremendous activity and new projects such as the Ploughboy Group which our Chairman instituted in July (see p.68) will ensure that lots more events and publications will be forthcoming in the years to come. Tyndale's name will become more and more familiar and his legacy will finally come to be properly appreciated. It is down to each and every member to play his or her part, in schools, churches, societies and academic circles. No task is too small or insignificant to make an effect. Many lines of enquiry still cry out to be investigated and this Journal will continue to provide a forum for comment and suggestions.

The success of the Journal depends on its contributions and I wish to thank all those who over the last two years have made my task an easy one, as the articles, letters, comments and suggestions which I have received and included in the Journal have been of such a high standard and of such variety. Please continue to inundate Deborah with your offerings (her address is inside the front cover of this issue). As I take my leave as editor (but not of course of the Society) I take this opportunity to wish the Journal well and to pray for the continued and ever-growing strength in depth of the Society. God bless you all.

*Hilary Day*

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## The Place of Printing of the Coverdale Bible

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And the LORDE spake unto Moses, and sayde: In the fyrst daye of the firste moneth shalt thou set up the habitation of the Tabernacle of wytnesse, and shalt put the Arke of wytnes therin, and hange the vayle before the Arke. And thou shalt bringe in the table and garnish it, and brynge in the candilsticke, and put the lampes theron. And the golde altare of incense shalt thou set before the Arke of wytnesse, and hange up the hanginge in the dore of the habitation.

(*The ii. boke of Moses, The XL. Chapter, in the Coverdale Bible of 1535, g v recto*)

### **Introduction<sup>[1]</sup>: The Contact between Tyndale and Coverdale**

The Coverdale 1535 is regarded as the *editio princeps* of the English Bible. In their *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture*, Darlow and Moule admit that Coverdale's work 'does not rank beside Tindale's', but add 'that it was Coverdale's glory to produce the first printed English Bible, and to leave to posterity a permanent memorial of his genius in that most musical version of the Psalter which passed into the Book of Common Prayer, and has endeared itself to generations of Englishmen'.<sup>[2]</sup> As a printed book, it was able to spread on a large scale and contribute considerably to the unification of English language and culture. Given the spectacular growth of the English language area in later centuries it may, with the possible exception of Luther's German translation (complete in 1534), be identified as the world's most influential complete Bible translation since the Vulgate.

Although Tyndale was in Vilvoorde prison by the time it appeared, his hand is recognisable in a lot of Coverdale's pages. In the above quotation from the beginning of the Second Book of Moses, for instance, the difference with Tyndale's text is very slight (Tyndale has '... unto Moses saying' where Coverdale has '... unto Moses, and sayde'; 'apparel' for 'garnish'; and a couple of minor variations in the word order). Coverdale was indeed able to work under Tyndale's supervision. That he worked with Tyndale in Hamburg in 1529 seems to some extent questionable. In his Tyndale biography, Mozley goes to great lengths to prove that we can safely accept this as a fact. He bases his interpretation of the historical events on Foxe's 'shipwreck' story. In the second edition (1570) of his famous *Book of Martyrs*, Foxe narrates how Tyndale tried to take his translation of the Fifth Book of Moses from Antwerp to Hamburg, but was shipwrecked.

Thus having lost by that ship both money, copies and time, he came in another ship to Hamborough, where at his appointment Master Coverdale tarried for him and helped him in the translating the whole five books of Moses, from Easter [March 28] till December, in the house of a worshipful widow, Mistress Margaret van Emmerson, Anno 1529, a great sweating sickness being the same time in the town. So having dispatched his business at Hamborough, he returned afterward to Antwerp again.<sup>[1]</sup>

On the next page, Mozley begins to quote at length another story, this time from Halle's Chronicle, which suggests that Tyndale was not in Hamburg at that time but in Antwerp. He would have been arranging there, at the clever suggestion of the London merchant Augustine Packington, the sale to Bishop Tunstall of a complete print run of his New Testament translation.<sup>[4]</sup> The latter story may be less replete with inner contradictions and embellishments than Mozley assumes, whereas the former, which situates both Tyndale and Coverdale in Hamburg in 1529, requires much more evidence than has been found so far. Dr Francine de Nave, Curator of the Plantin-Moretus Museum in Antwerp, has communicated to me her serious doubts about Mozley's repeated argument of Antwerp being more than once 'too hot a place to be comfortable'<sup>[5]</sup> for Tyndale. We therefore remain in uncertainty about Coverdale's possible cooperation with Tyndale in Germany. We know for certain, however, that both he and John Rogers (editor of the second complete English Bible in print, the so-called Matthew's Bible of 1537) were with Tyndale in Antwerp in 1534–35. Evidence is given in J.F. Mozley's book on Coverdale. Printers often used scholars for the proof-reading and general editing of their publications, and Coverdale was apparently employed by Merten de Keyser.<sup>[6]</sup> In the same publication, Mozley describes the role of the Antwerp merchant Jacob van Meteren in the preparation of the first complete Bible in print. In a biographical sketch of Jacob's son Emanuel by Simeon Ruytinck, there is a reference to Jacob van Meteren's zeal 'in bearing the cost of the translating and printing of the English Bible at Antwerp'.<sup>[7]</sup>

Curiously enough, today Antwerp no longer seems to be considered as the place of printing for Coverdale's text. As places of publication, one usually finds names of towns followed by a question mark. Darlow and Moule suggest 'Zurich?' (printer: Christopher Froschover). For shelfmark S.Seld.c.9, the OLIS catalogue of the Bodleian Library in Oxford mentions 'Imprint [Cologne?]', whereas for shelfmarks C.132.h.46 and C.18.b.8, the OPAC catalogue of the British Library speculates on '[E. Cervicornus and J. Soter? Marburg?]'. Pollard and Redgrave's *Short Title Catalogue* mentions the same printers as the OPAC catalogue, but associates their names with a different place: '[Cologne? E. Cervicornus a. J. Soter?]'.<sup>[8]</sup> Herbert's revised

and expanded edition of Darlow and Moule keeps both options open: 'Cologne or Marburg'.<sup>[9]</sup>

### **L.A. Sheppard's Identification of the Place of Printing**

The confusion seems to be a result of the extent to which one accepts the suggestions made in an article prepared by L.A. Sheppard in 1935 (i.e. 400 years after the publication of the Coverdale Bible). First of all, Sheppard demonstrates why Zurich has to be rejected. All the recent catalogues follow him in this. He then proceeds to an examination of initials, and finds that 'with a few exceptions the initials used in the Coverdale Bible range themselves in two alphabets'.<sup>[10]</sup> He comes to the conclusion that a 'peculiar distribution of the initials within the volume lends support to the theory that the work was printed on the presses of two printers'.<sup>[11]</sup> These printers are Cervicornus (Hirzhorn) and Soter (Heil). Having dealt with the close connections between these two publishers, Sheppard finally reaches the conclusion that in the course of 1535, Cervicornus must have taken a unique blend of at least two sets of initials from Cologne to Marburg, where he established a press in what was the seat of the recently founded Protestant university, at which he matriculated on 25 November of the same year.

Not all the initials fit within this theory. The explanation is also rather uneconomical, requiring considerable movement of initials, letter types and printers (admittedly phenomena not in themselves impossible at a time when types, initials and woodcuts were often handed on from one printer to another). Moreover, the colophon of the first Coverdale mentions that the work was 'Prynted in the yeare of our Lorde M.D.XXXV and fynished the fourth daye of October'. This is before Cervicornus matriculated at Marburg university. Mozley sees this as an objection to Sheppard's argument. He accepts the latter's argument as long as it points to Cologne, but rejects the Marburg theory as 'an aberration'.<sup>[12]</sup> Mozley himself has to admit, however, that 'two odd capitals, one in Genesis and the other in Lamentations ... have not yet been found in Cologne books of this period'.

But one may wonder whether Simeon Ruytinck may be right after all when he indicates that van Meteren had the Coverdale Bible both *translated* and *printed* in Antwerp. As I shall now go on to suggest, new evidence is perhaps to be found in one of its illustrations, and will have to be backed up by a renewed effort to identify its initials, types and historical setting.

### **The Postilla Print of the Tabernacle**

In the original, the quotation from Coverdale at the top of this article (2nd Book of Moses called Exodus, ch. 40, 1–5) belongs to a narrow strip of text

to the right of one of its larger illustrations (size 187 x 130 mm.) representing the Tabernacle, a copy of which is to be found at the end of this article.<sup>[13]</sup> It indicates the four points of the compass in a language that is not English: 'west', 'nord', 'oost' and 'suiid'. In a characteristic error occurring when woodcuts are copied onto a new block, the lettering in 'suiid' (south) is partly upside down. A similar mirror effect is found in the inverted 'S'-es in the names of SIMEON, MANASSE and IUDAS (Judah) – three of the twelve names of the sons of Jacob, each representing a tribe with its own tent. In the heart of the picture, we see among others the ark and the veil, the 'candilsticke' with its seven arms, the table with the show-bread, and the altar of the burnt-offering with the utensils. The same illustration is repeated in the 4th Book of Moses called Numbers, ch. 2, beside a narrow strip of text now identified as verse 9–13; Coverdale 1535 mentions here that 'all they which belonge to the hoost of Juda ... shall go before', and that 'On the South side shall lye the pavylions and baner of Ruben with their hoost'.

There is nothing remarkable about the occurrence of words that are not English and not even Latin in a woodcut of this vernacular Bible. The later Geneva Bibles in English frequently have French woodcuts for the illustration of the Tabernacle. In the 1530s English was, after all, a language spoken by a population hardly larger than that of the Dutch and much smaller than that of the French language area in Europe. For the identification of the foreign language in the Coverdale woodcut of the Tabernacle, the dictionaries WNT (*Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*) and Grimm, relevant for the older stages of resp. Dutch and German, do not necessarily bring a solution (the spelling SUIID, for instance, occurs in neither). Expert advice has therefore been taken from Prof. Dr. Jan Goossens, emeritus professor of linguistics at Leuven (Dutch-speaking Louvain in Belgium) and Münster (Germany), and from Prof. Dr. Joop van der Horst (currently professor of Dutch historical linguistics at K.U.Leuven). Both agree that the spellings SVIID (with double 'i' in capital letters) and IJSACHAR (with 'ij' instead of 'i' only) could occur in the whole of what is now the Dutch language area. The Dutch language developed out of 'Niederfrankisch' (Low Franconian). In Coverdale's time, however, these spellings could also have occurred in 'Ripuarisches Deutsch' (Riparian German), situated in the Aachen-Cologne area (i.e. close to but outside the Low Franconian area). In other words, they need not exclude Cologne as a place of origin of the woodcut. The spelling NORD even includes the whole of both the Dutch and the German language area. However, the spelling OOST, with its characteristically 'Dutch' addition of a second 'o' as a lengthening mark,



seems more definitely 'Dutch' (I rely on the experience of esp. Prof. Goossens here). It is therefore safe to say that the only language area in which the above-mentioned spellings for south, east and Issachar could occur, is Dutch.

It seems appropriate, therefore, to make use of Bart Rosier's invaluable study of *The Bible in Print: Netherlandish Bible Illustration in the Sixteenth Century* (1997) in order to identify the nature and possible origin of this woodcut. I have not found an identical copy in Rosier's publication, but the author reproduces only a fraction, impressive enough in itself, of the enormous amount of material he is dealing with. He does prove, however, that 'approximately eighty percent of the Netherlandish bibles were printed in Antwerp, and even if bibles were printed elsewhere, the illustration material came from Antwerp'.<sup>[14]</sup> Since we know that Coverdale was definitely working in Antwerp, the eighty percent chance that the Dutch woodcut originates from Antwerp becomes even considerably larger.

B.A. Rosier also gives us solid background to our interpretation of the *genre* of the illustration. When we compare it with other illustrations in Low Countries Bibles, it becomes obvious that Coverdale's Tabernacle is a typical example of a so-called *Postilla*-print:

In almost all illustrated sixteenth-century Netherlandish Bible editions, prints appear that are based on the representations in the printed versions of the *Postilla* by the French theologian Nicholas of Lyra (ca. 1270–1349). The *Postilla* is a very comprehensive and in-depth Bible commentary that had been distributed over Europe in numerous manuscripts from the second quarter of the fourteenth century onward. ... The first printed edition of the *Postilla* illustrated with woodcuts appeared in 1481 by Anton Koberger at Nuremberg. This edition contained some forty prints.

Rosier adds on the same page that 'in general, Netherlandish Bibles feature the illustrations of the Tabernacle and the Temple, both with their accessories, placed to Exodus and 1 Kings'.<sup>[15]</sup> He also reminds us that 'incidentally, the illustrations accompanying the description of the Tabernacle in Exodus and Solomon's Temple in 1 Kings are the only woodcuts for which Luther used already existing prints as an example: the prints illustrating the *Postilla* by Nicholas of Lyra'.<sup>[16]</sup> The Luther who borrowed precious stones from aristocratic houses in order to have a direct experience of what Old Testament ornaments looked like, was obviously very critical about mediaeval illustrations, but the *Postilla*-illustrations are apparently reliable enough according to his judgment.

Further comparative study of illustrations of the Tabernacle in German and Low Countries Bibles is certainly needed to define more exactly the origin of

Coverdale's illustration. At this stage, however, there seems to be little doubt that Coverdale's Tabernacle, if not his Bible, is of Low Countries rather than German origin, and that Antwerp is far more likely to have produced the illustration than any other typographical centre in the Low Countries.

### Other Illustrations in Coverdale 1535

Thanks to the precious help and advice of Ms Nina Evans, Readers' Adviser at the British Library, it has been possible for me to do some preliminary investigation of the other woodcuts in Coverdale. Darlow and Moule indicate that 'altogether 68 separate woodblocks are used, and by repetition these are made to form 158 distinct illustrations'. Most of them are 'small cuts (generally about 70 x 50 mm.)'<sup>[17]</sup> Two of these, viz. Noah's ark and Noah's drunkenness (see illustration at the end of this article) are of special interest to us, because they occur in

'a fragment, consisting of sig. a iii & iiij of pt. 1 only. With these leaves are bound the corresponding leaves from a copy of the German Bible printed by Egenolff at Frankfort in 1534 with types of the same class and containing woodcuts believed to be the originals from which those of Coverdale's Bible were copied.'<sup>[18]</sup>

It would not be unusual for inferior copies of German illustrations to be made in the Low Countries. Especially before the days of Plantin, the French bookbinder who arrived in Antwerp in 1550 and became Europe's leading master printer there, the Low Countries printers owed much to the German ones for both their types and illustrations. German craftsmanship before 1550, with figures like Holbein the Elder, Holbein the Younger and Cranach, is generally recognised to be vastly superior to that of the Low Countries before the Plantin-Moretus dynasty of printers. It is significant that Coverdale's small woodcuts of Noah's ark and drunkenness respectively are indeed *copies of* but not *identical to* their German models. In his entry on Coverdale in the Dictionary of National Biography (1887), H.R. Tedder remarked that Coverdale's 70 x 50 mm. woodcuts 'are the same design, with minute differences in the engraving'. Sheppard likewise mentions in 1935 that 'the illustrations of the Coverdale Bible are considered to be copies of Hans Beham's woodcuts in the Frankfort Bible'.<sup>[19]</sup> To the best of my knowledge, no one has ever contested this argument. Professor Meg Twycross (Lancaster University), a leading specialist on visual aspects of late mediaeval and renaissance literature, has looked with me at both sets of illustrations and agrees that the small woodcuts in the Egenolff original have a hatching slightly different from and a quality superior to Coverdale's. An example of the difference between Egenolff 1534 and Coverdale 1535 is to

example of the difference between Egenolff 1534 and Coverdale 1535 is to be found in a comparison between their respective illustrations of Noah's drunkenness at the end of this article.

That most Low Countries woodcuts of those days were inferior to their German models, is of course no definite proof *in itself* that the small woodcuts in Coverdale are indeed from the Low Countries. In theory, slightly inferior copies could have been produced in Germany as well. It would be a mistake, however, to assume that *copies* of Hans Beham use the latter's woodblocks. All we can claim so far for the smaller illustrations in Coverdale is that, as was apparently the case for the *Postilla*-print with its miscalculated mirror effects, an in some respects somewhat clumsy reproduction was made by a new craftsman who may well have worked outside Frankfurt or Cologne and even outside Germany.

### Identical Small Woodcuts in Matthew's Bible

According to Darlow and Moule, Matthew's Bible 'welds together the best work of Tindale and Coverdale', and 'is generally considered to be the real primary version of our English Bible',<sup>[20]</sup> – as distinct from the Coverdale 1535, which is the *editio princeps*. It was published with King Henry's licence. In his recent Tyndale biography, David Daniell places it with certainty in Antwerp.<sup>[21]</sup> Herbert follows Darlow and Moule when he writes that 'conjecture points to Antwerp'.<sup>[22]</sup> The always very circumspect Nijhoff and Kronenberg hesitate only very slightly: 'Het komt ons bijna zeker voor, dat Crom de drukker is',<sup>[23]</sup> (it seems almost certain to us that [Matthias] Crom [from Antwerp] is the printer), and add substantial evidence based on woodcuts and initials.

Six illustrations in Matthew's seem to me to be not simply copies, but *exact matches* of Coverdale woodcuts. Here is a comparative list of them:

Coverdale 1535	Matthew 1537	Representing:
a1r	a1r	1st page Genesis
a2r	a1v	Adam & Eve and the Tree of Knowledge
a2v	a2r	Cain slays Abel
a3v	a3r	Noah's ark
a4v	a4r	Noah's drunkenness
b3r	a8r	Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac

A magnifying glass might reveal that in these six cases, the same woodblocks were used again. By the time they are used for Matthew's, the only difference seems to be that they are two years older, as is revealed in

tiny imperfections found in Matthew's and not in Coverdale. It would be useful for a more expert eye to look at this.

If we can safely assume that the blocks were the same and that Matthew's was printed in Antwerp, it also becomes extremely likely that not only the larger but also the smaller illustrations in Coverdale were of Antwerp origin. Woodblocks of course do travel from time to time, but it is an uneconomical assumption that the blocks large and small would have been made in the Low Countries, then taken to Germany for the printing of the Coverdale Bible, after which the smaller blocks were carried back to Antwerp for the printing of Matthew's. It is much more likely that they were all made in the Antwerp area and simply remained there for the printing of both complete Bibles.

### **Types and Initials**

All sources agree that the printer of Coverdale 1535 used a Schwabacher – a type general enough not to tie it to a particular place in Germany or the Low Countries. The story of the initials will have to be reconsidered in the light of the new evidence regarding the illustrations. Sheppard's article has so far remained the most authoritative source on this issue, whether it is followed to its utmost conclusions (leading to Marburg, as the British Library catalogue assumes), or whether it is accepted only partially (identifying Cologne as the place of printing, as the Bodleian Library following Mozley suggests). A valuable source of information not at Sheppard's disposal in 1935 is Vervliet's 1968 publication on printing types in the Low Countries.<sup>[24]</sup> A search involving Vervliet's reference work will have to be carried out. It will have to be systematic, and if possible include some of the latest techniques involving computer scanning in contrasting colours. Prof. Pam King (University College of St Martin, Lancaster) has suggested making use of the facilities offered at her university by the Imaging Science Department, which has experimented with this technique on mediaeval manuscripts – with good results. This kind of scanning can be applied to both types, initials and illustration.

That one or more woodcuts in it are of Low Countries, presumably Antwerp origin, does not automatically lead to the conclusion that the entire Bible was made in Antwerp. Again, it is types and initials that will have to provide more conclusive evidence. Scholarly works on Dutch Bibles in print, such as Rosier's above-mentioned study, or Den Hollander's meticulous work on *Dutch Translations of the Bible 1522–45*,<sup>[25]</sup> will have to be consulted. My colleagues expert at rare books of the 16th century at both Leuven (Dr Chris Coppens) and Louvain-la-Neuve (Prof. Jean-François

Gilmont) have urged me to consult Valkema Blouw, a great authority in the field of 16th century printers. There is, in other words, a great deal of work still to be done on types, initials and illustrations.

### **Some Further Historical Paths to Explore**

A reconsideration, in a more historical context, of the van Meteren connection should likewise be very useful. Mozley assesses the climate in Antwerp in 1535 as follows:

How did things stand in the summer of 1535? At Antwerp the reformers were in trouble. Tyndale was arrested in May, and his English friends found themselves in peril; a general hunt was made for Lutherans and their books, and Meteren's own house was searched. That Meteren should determine to print elsewhere is easy to understand; and if elsewhere, where better than at Cologne, which was within easy reach, and where archbishop Hermann of Wied held the reins of power. Hermann was more than half a Lutheran, and in due course initiated those reforms, which brought down on his head the wrath of the papacy and led to his excommunication a few years later. Cologne had never lacked printers of liberal and humanist outlook, and among these are particularly named Quentel, Soter and Cervicorn.<sup>(26)</sup>

Mozley's determination to see things through the eyes of Tyndale may perhaps make him slightly myopic here. Antwerp, like Cologne, was printing masses of materials of humanist and protestant outlook. One can mention, for example, an edition of Jacob van Liesvelt Bible in the very year 1535. In 1526, van Liesvelt brought out the first complete Dutch Bible translation in print, which he based on Luther inasmuch as he could (Luther's own Bible translation not being complete yet). Its 1535 edition has a woodcut showing Jesus being tempted by the devil in the desert; the latter appears in the shape of a monk complete with horns and cleft feet. Nevertheless, printers like Liesvelt and Vorsterman did not refrain from printing fervently anti-protestant materials either. The guiding principle seems to have been commercial profit here, and this applies to both printers and city magistrates. The Antwerp community simply could not afford to antagonize its most significant group of foreign traders, i.e. the English, and even Bible translation, harsh though it may sound to those who gave their lives for the spiritual welfare of the faithful, was business as usual. It is precisely the relative protection this commercial attitude gave to Englishmen that explains the complex issue of Tyndale's arrest. Tyndale would have been extremely well protected within the walls of the English house, enjoyed less safety within the city walls of Antwerp, and would have lost even this relative safety in the fields outside these walls, where he met King Henry's emissary

Stephan Vaughan.<sup>[27]</sup> At any rate, Mozley's argument about reformers being 'in trouble' at Antwerp, although not entirely wrong, is not sufficient to make us assume that van Meteren must have had the complete Bible translation in English printed elsewhere. Most importantly, it does not take into account the huge number of Protestant Bibles. Most of these were printed in Dutch and therefore at far greater risk in the same town than any English Bible would be.

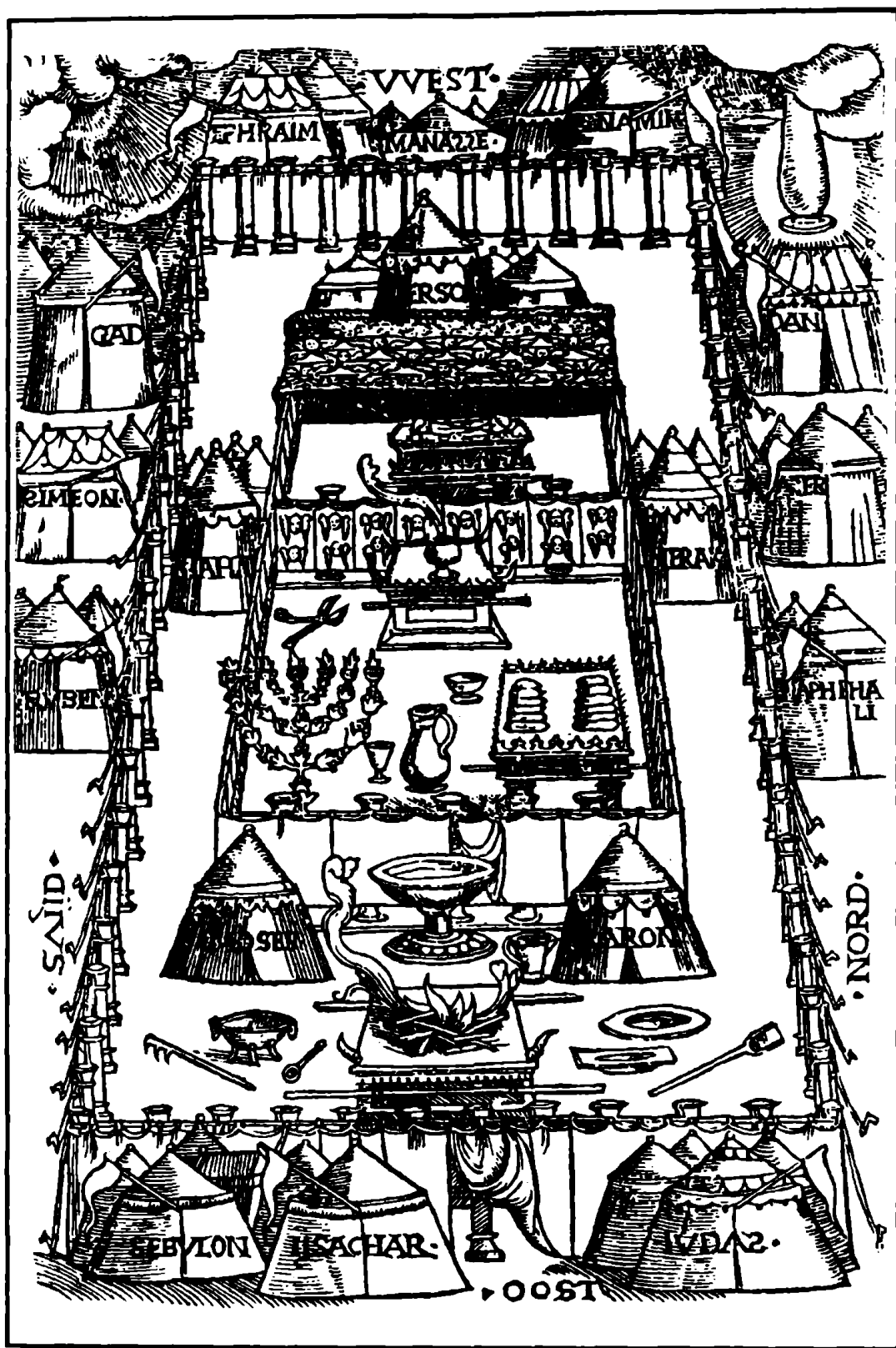
These various lines of research will, it is hoped, yield conclusions worthy of publication by Dr Kimberly L. Van Kampen, Curator of the Van Kampen Collection. She was the exemplary hostess of the Hereford symposium (28–31 May 1997) on *The Bible as Book*, where she generously offered the author a place for publication of a more definitive version of this text. It should appear in a collection of papers that will be submitted for consideration as the third volume in the Scriptorium's series with the British Library. The text to be submitted soon to Dr Van Kampen will, it is hoped, contain new arguments in favour of Antwerp, while at the same time being sufficiently armed against this hope. Considering the evidence available at the current stage, however, Antwerp can already be named as the most likely place of origin for the Coverdale Bible of 1535. When confirmed, this hypothesis would very much consolidate the historical link between on the one hand the pupils Miles Coverdale and John Rogers, and on the other the great master William Tyndale himself. Above all, it would enhance the connection between Antwerp and the genesis of the English Bible as we know it today.

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*Postilla-print of the Tabernacle, Coverdale 1535,  
2nd Book of Moses, ch. 40 (real size 187 x 130 mm.)*



*Woodcut of Noah's drunkenness in the German Bible printed by Egenolff, Frankfurt, 1534. Real size 70 x 50 mm. British Library, shelfmark 3051.ff.10.*



*Woodcut of Noah's drunkenness in Coverdale 1535 (1st Book of Moses, ch. 9). Real size 70 x 50 mm. This is clearly a copy of the woodcut illustrating the same scene in the Egenolff Bible. The hatching,*

*however, is slightly different here, and the general quality inferior. As examples of the subtle differences, see for instance Noah's left knee and the grass or straw below it. This proves that a new woodblock was made after the Egenolff example. In Matthew's Bible (1537), the woodcut is identical to the one seen here, and we can therefore assume that its most likely printer, Matthias Crom, used the same woodblocks as the printer of Coverdale 1535. British Library, shelfmark 3051.ff.10.*

## References

1. Together with the author of this article, Prof. Pamela King (University College of St Martin, Lancaster) and Prof. Meg Twycross (Lancaster University) have for some time been involved in collective research on literary and iconographic relationships between England and the Low Countries in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance. Their joint project is sponsored by the British Council and the Flemish Research Fund (FWO). Without this generous support, the research presented in this article could not have been done.



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5. *Ibid.*, p. 153. Mozley reiterates this argument in J.F. Mozley, *Coverdale and His Bibles*, London: Lutterworth Press, 1953, p. 4: '... finding Antwerp too hot a place to be pleasant, [Coverdale] had resolved to print at Hamburg'. On the occasion of the above-mentioned exhibition on Antwerp as a centre of dissident typography for the English market, Dr de Nave likewise questioned Mozley's view on Antwerp as less tolerant in the mid-1530s. See also my comments under 'Some Further Historical Paths to Explore'.
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## William Tyndale: New Discoveries and the Private Book Collector

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John Day's first publication of the complete works of Tyndale, Frith and Barnes is prefaced by these words of John Foxe:

For therefore I suppose this science of Printing first to be set up and sent of God to mans use, not so much for temporall commoditie to be taken, or mans glory to be sought thereby, but rather for the spirituall and inwarde supportation of soulehealth, helpe of Religion, restoring of true doctrine, repaying of Christes Church, and repressing of corrupt abuses, which had heretofore overdarkened the doctrine of fayth, to revive agayne the lost lyght of knowledge to these blynde tymes, by renuing of holsome and auncient writers: whose doinges and teachings otherwise had lyen in obliuion, had not the benefite of Printing brought them agayne to light, or us rather to light by them.

These 'blynde tymes' Foxe refers to were 1573, when the reforming of England had evolved into a new kind of conflict. The controversies of the day centered around the interpretation and manifestation of reform, that is, whether it would wear an Anglican or Puritan face. As an attempt to restore unity and define English Protestantism, Anglican printer John Day had revived the writings of the beloved martyrs and learned fathers of the Reformation, William Tyndale, Robert Frith, and Dr. Robert Barnes, whom John Foxe later claimed as the 'chief ryngeladers of thys Church of England'.

Although the Church of England that Tyndale may have envisioned in the 1520s was not necessarily that of Matthew Parker and Alexander Nowell in the 1570s, we must admire the prophetic truth of Foxe's words regarding the benefit of printing. Indeed, were it not for the printers, we would have much less evidence for discovery today. But printers are only the first step, for their work was, in essence, complete at the end of each print run. For the long lives of these precious books, we must give credit to those whose efforts are collaborative with the printers', the collectors.

As a curator of a significant private American collection, I am particularly intrigued by the relationship of the private collector to Tyndale studies. The purpose of the recent celebration over the discovery of the Stuttgart Tyndale New Testament is an apt illustration of how the individual bookcollector fits into this discipline, since the very survival of the Stuttgart Tyndale depended upon its deportation and preservation by a sixteenth-century bibliophile.

I will examine the relationship of the private collector to the study of William Tyndale in a discussion in two parts: the latter will be an examination of the discoveries and revelations relating to the age of Tyndale which may yet be had in the world of private book ownership. The first and following part is an introduction to this active, competitive, and even confounding, world of book collecting.

### **Part One: Wars and Rumours of Wars**

The Van Kampen Collection is a repository of Biblical materials, including clay tablets of cuneiform documentation, papyrus fragments in Greek and Coptic, numerous medieval manuscripts of Eastern and Western traditions, and printed books from the dawning of moveable type to the present. The collection became open to the academic and general public in 1994, at which date I began to be asked the question, 'Where in the world did you get these things?' I am half-tempted to respond that we employ archaeological teams for the purpose of uncovering these treasures from the sands of Egypt or the rubble of English castles. But in truth, if we did acquire our items that way, we would be in considerable trouble with the government agencies of those countries whose job it is to keep national monuments at home.

Most visitors to our collection, or any other, are unaware that the rare book trade is an active and flourishing industry. At times no less hazardous than an archeological dig, the rare book industry attracts many different sorts of people: the Opportunist – who mistakenly believes that his fortune will lie in an unnoticed edition in the next bookstall; the Grave Robber – his bibliophilia borders on the perverse in its fascination with the oblique inscription and hasty ex libris of a long-since departed owner; the Disgruntled Academic Turned Bookseller – who finds that book fairs and catalogue descriptions are preferable to the politics and administrative rigors of the university; the Novice – that prey of a certain sort of professional predator, an inevitable element in every antiques market; and the Seasoned Collector – he who is driven nearly senseless by a passion to both consume and proliferate former bodies of knowledge, and at the same time manages not to lose his shirt. As with any publicly traded commodity, the book trade is driven as much by psychology as any other factor.

Many of the world's great research institutions were founded on the antiques amassed by a single collector stricken with this 'gentle madness' (as one author recently has called the collecting mania in a book of the same name<sup>(1)</sup>). In England, there are the early legendary collections of Bodley, Cotton, Parker, Hatton, and Rylands, and many more. In the States, it has

been the economic prosperity of this century which has produced the great collections of the big industrialists – Morgan, Huntington, Beinecke, Pforzheimer and Folger, to name a few. But more often than not, great libraries are dispersed after the death of their founders either by the families or the institutions to which the archive was bequeathed. As regrettable as that may seem, this turning over of materials is the fuel of the trade. Often, as in the case of the Stuttgart Tyndale, items become ‘lost’ in large public collections of a static nature, in that they are miscatalogued or mis-shelved and forgotten over time. However, in the private realm, things are seldom lost, and a book’s provenance becomes one aspect of its value.

If collecting is a passion, building a library is an art. The voracious appetite of Mr. Folger to pursue every Shakespeare folio he knew to exist was driven by the simple desire to have them all. This is the least sophisticated and most potentially hazardous motivation behind the collecting impulse. It does not take long for the artless buying habits of a newcomer to create a false inflationary market which, after a short and spiked appreciation, leaves him with a devalued library and no takers. On the other hand, the carefully chosen and specialized library, which reflects years of research and clever purchasing, will appreciate in value both to one’s estate as well as to the scholarly community, whether it stays together or not. Estelle Doheney’s library, built upon the sound advice of reputable academics and book sellers, did not survive her death as an archive. Nonetheless, since its dispersal in 1976, each item shines as a solitary jewel in the great and growing collections of the later twentieth century.

Those individuals or institutions who wish to sell a book, as well as those who wish to buy one, look to two primary venues for book acquisition: the auction house and the dealer. Many of the great collections, such as Countess Doheney’s, are dispersed at the auction block. Many private collectors feel that they do best when purchasing in the sale rooms of the large houses because they are buying from the same source as the dealers, often bidding against those who will later market the item at a much higher price. Similarly, prices brought at auction, which are a matter of public record, serve as the benchmark for market values. But the dangers of public trading may be relieved through agency – that is, through the services of the private dealer who can maintain his client’s anonymity while providing a certain expertise and buying savvy that the private collector may not have.

One looming fault of the book industry is its inability to ascribe value to the truly valuable. Often the industry will fall over itself for an edition made rare because of a former collector’s voracity, and ignore the truly unique. I

think of a sale held at Sotheby's London on Monday, 13th of December, 1993, officially known as the 'Hamlet' sale. Lot number 20, illustrated on the cover of the sale catalogue, was the talk of the book world that winter. It was a rare copy of Shakespeare's *Tragedy of Hamlet*, the fourth quarto edition, published sometime between 1619–30, bound in contemporary vellum. The catalogue description advertised in all capital letters, THIS IS THE FIRST COPY OF THIS EDITION OF HAMLET TO APPEAR AT AUCTION IN 75 YEARS. And later on, THERE IS NO RECORD OF ANOTHER COPY IN A CONTEMPORARY VELLUM BINDING. After arguing that this edition is the 'most authentic form of the play' by discrediting the 'Bad' but nonetheless significantly earlier and rare quarto of 1604, the Sotheby's cataloguers noted that only 20 copies of this edition of *Hamlet* have been located by bibliographers (to the surprise of no one, mostly in American libraries). The estimate was listed at £40–50,000. In the weeks before the sale, the queue for inspection of this book was filled with specialists, scholars, dealers, collectors, and Shakespeare pilgrims, all anxious to see and hold this latest relic. On the day of the sale, bids for lot 20 came from all over the sale room as well as all over the world by way of active phone bidding. However, once the price surpassed that of the estimate, the bidding quickly quieted down to two bidders. The rest of the participants watched – or listened if they were on the phones – as a prestigious book house in London and an agent for a foreign collector vied for ownership of the *Hamlet*. The foreigner prevailed, and the fourth edition quarto of *Hamlet* in a near-contemporary binding sold for a pre-commission price of £150,000.00 to an agent named Edwards.<sup>[2]</sup>

In the same sale, another rare book was offered as lot 289. This was Matthew Parker's *De Antiquitate Britannicae Ecclesiae* of 1572. Parker, Archbishop to Queen Elizabeth and proponent of Anglican stability in the golden years of the English Reformation, was a bookman. Through his scholarship and patronage, he was responsible for many of the monumental reform publications of the late sixteenth-century; most significantly, he is regarded as the principle editor of the Bishops' Bible of 1568. In 1572, Parker hired the printer John Day to bring a scaled-down printing operation to his home in Cambridge to produce the first privately-printed book in England, the *Antiquitate*. This work was, for Parker, the culmination of his scholarship and theology, a recounting of the history of the English church from its beginnings in the Anglo-Saxon period through to the victories of the reformers. Every aspect of this publication was overseen by Parker, for only fifty or so copies were printed. We gather from his correspondence that

Parker intended these for gifts to his closest friends and colleagues. In light of the expense he must have incurred to produce this publication, this book must have represented the finest gift he could give, and he gave it sparingly. Speaking of the book he said, 'I have not given to four men in the whole realm; and peradventure, it shall never come to sight abroad, though some men, smelling of the printing it, were very desirous cravers of the same. ... For the present I purpose to keep it by me, while I live, to add and mend as occasion should serve me, or utterly to suppress it, and to burn it.'<sup>[3]</sup> One copy was presented to Queen Elizabeth, but the majority of the issue was in Parker's possession at his death two years later. The RSTC<sup>[4]</sup> lists only six copies in the U.K. of this book, although there may be more. In the United States, there is only one copy – another of Mr. Folger's conquests. Like the *Hamlet*, the last copy of the *Antiquitate* to be sold at auction traded in 1920, and that copy was incomplete.

On that day in December, 1993, the crowd thinned following the momentous result of the *Hamlet*, but the auction carried on, for there were over three hundred more lots to sell. The majority of the remaining participants were dealers of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century books who were planning to attend the Fairfax Sale the next day. When lot 289, the *Antiquitate*, came up, very little interest was shown. When the auctioneer failed to attract a minimum bid of £4000.00, the book was 'bought in', that is, taken off the block. In spite of all the attention this sale generated, the *Antiquitate* went unsold. The book resurfaced in a later sale in 1994, to the same result.

The tale of the 'Hamlet' sale illustrates my thesis: in the world of private collecting, there are yet discoveries to be made. As long as there are institutions or collectors who need to liquidate their libraries, and as long as free trade is encouraged, there will be important material changing hands. The good collector survives by being as knowledgeable about the objects he collects as about the nuances of the marketplace. However, since there are many publications offering tips on successful bookcollecting, let me now turn to the topic of Tyndale in the marketplace.

All scholars of Tyndale are aware of the celebrated acquisition by the British Library of the Bristol Baptist College Library's first edition of Tyndale's New Testament. The rarity and importance of this edition is the reason for our gathering this morning. What many scholars and enthusiasts are not aware of is how many other Tyndale or Tyndale-related editions have been available on the market, have been purchased, and are now in private hands. The subsequent editions of Tyndale's Bible form important chapters in the story of the English Reformation. The virtual explosion of editions

bears witness to the irrepressibility of the Scriptures in the vernacular, which was Tyndale's legacy. Many bear the scars of the persecution under which they circulated, and I will mention these further on. Nevertheless, as attested to by the existence of only two complete first editions, the survival of Tyndale's work depended on these later editions. Although less rare, the later editions of Tyndale's Bible are as valuable from the perspective of the text they transmitted at the time they transmitted it.

In the last ten years, eight later editions of the Tyndale New Testament were traded at auction. Five copies of the 1553 edition – containing the Almanac – traded hands, three in 1995 when the Bute Library was sold.<sup>[5]</sup> In 1993, the Engraver's Mark 4th edition Tyndale New Testament was sold. The 1536 or fourth edition of the New Testament had three issues, now commonly known by the nature of the stone upon which St. Paul rests his foot in the woodcut which is prefixed to the epistles. One issue has the engraver's mark emblazoned on the stone, hence the name. Its complement is the Mole edition, where, yes, St. Paul's foot rests on the head of a mole, presumably a reference to the publisher Van der Haghen. In 1987, a Mole edition, of which there are only three in the States, sold to the Van Kampen collection and now resides in western Michigan. The earliest Tyndale new Testament to sell, next to the first edition, is the octavo second edition. Tyndale's New Testament was issued twice in 1534. The earlier issue was a sextessimo, which is the smallest of the Tyndales, and it contained the unauthorized changes to the text by George Joye. Only one copy is extant in the British Library. An octavo was issued as well the same year, without Joye's changes, and about a dozen of these survive. The octavo edition of the 1534 Tyndale New Testament was sold at Sotheby's in 1988, again to the Van Kampen Collection.

More rare than the later editions of the New Testament is Tyndale's Pentateuch. Only three editions of this work were printed in the sixteenth century, two during Tyndale's lifetime, 1530 and 1534, and one in 1551. By the early 1530s, Tyndale had moved to Antwerp where he employed the services of printer J. Hoochstraten. The first two editions of the Pentateuch originated from this association, the second being a correction of the first. Of that first edition of the Pentateuch, only a dozen are known to survive, not all complete. It was most likely printed in different locations, and brought together in parts. The books of Genesis and Numbers are printed in the traditional black letter gothic type of the New Testaments. Exodus, Leviticus and Deuteronomy are printed in a Roman type. The book of Exodus contains a number of woodcuts which depict aspects of the temple as well as Aaron in



his priestly attire. They are close imitations of the woodcuts in Luther's Bible. The colophon to Genesis reads that the book was printed at 'Malborow in the lande of Hesse, by me, H. Luft', an alias printer's colophon for Antwerp and Hoochstraten.

In the earlier part of the twentieth-century, J.P. Morgan owned two complete copies of this book. As was characteristic, he had them rebound in the style for which he was known, dark brown gilded calf, with gilded foreedges. In the mid-nineteen-seventies, after his library was established as a public institution, a very important manuscript Book of Hours became available and the Morgan Library wanted it. Part of the transaction involved trading several duplicate copies of important books within their holdings. At this time, one of their two Tyndale Pentateuchs, the one with the final leaf supplied from another copy, was traded to Mr. Kraus of Kraus Books in New York City. For twenty years it remained in New York in the Kraus collection, occasionally offered in their catalogues. In 1995, it was acquired for the Van Kampen Collection and is the last Tyndale Pentateuch in private hands.

As one can imagine, a certain level of competition exists between the public institutions and the private collections. Building their collections within strict development budgets, institutions are not allowed the luxury of making emotional purchases, that is, paying premium prices for the things they want. As a result, there is an occasional murmur of resentment of the barn-storming, usually American, collector. As the story goes of the British Library's purchase of the Tyndale first edition, several higher bids were rejected so that the book would stay in England. The Daily Telegraph reported Bristol Baptist's Roger Hayden explaining that the British Library's lower bid was accepted because 'We felt it might end up in a Texas Vault'.<sup>[6]</sup> And yet American collections are notable for just the opposite. Unlike many of the great private collections in large houses in Europe, American libraries are often made public within one generation, to the benefit of scholars worldwide.

I conclude this section on the book trade in general by reiterating its value to the scholar of the age of Tyndale. In spite of occasional hype and marketing techniques, much may be learned from the sale catalogues of large auction houses and one-man book shops as well. The migration of material is something that scholars need to have current knowledge of, and there is no better place to become aware at a glance of material related to our studies that is often neglected in the academic canon. If discoveries are to be made, particularly pertaining to our discipline, they will generally lie in the pages of the unnoticed text. The second part of my talk this morning is dedicated to

the sixteenth-century book and what it reveals about the readers, writers, martyrs, and survivors of the English Reformation.

## **Part Two: Discoveries and Self-Discovery**

The curious thing about new discoveries is that often what has been discovered is, in fact, nothing new. Sometimes, what is discovered is a new appreciation, or a new recognition of the worth of something on the part of one's self or society. One of the manuscripts most precious manuscripts in the Van Kampen Collection is a rare quarto-sized New Testament made by members of the Wycliffite rebellion. We value it for its witness to the unfailing determination of a small group of people to propagate the Scriptures in English, even in the face of brutality. However, in the sixteenth-century, only a century and a half after the Constitutions of Oxford made owning such a manuscript punishable by death, the broad margins of this particular book were used for calligraphic exercises and penstarts by a number of Englishmen and women of the household where the book had been kept. They did not share the respect or value for the artifact of their predecessors or of us today.

Similarly, the Stuttgart Tyndale went unnoticed for centuries, although it had passed through many unknowing hands. Otto Heinrich may have known that his little English Bible was the first complete printing of Tyndale's New Testament, but his binder was oblivious of this detail, as was the librarian at the Cistercian Abbey of Schoenthal who inscribed its title page. The archival staff at King Frederick's Wuertemberg State Library in 1810/11 were unaware of the identity of the book when they placed their library stamp and shelfmarks in it, and so apparently was the faculty at the University of Tuebingen. In 1935, the Tyndale remained unnoticed when it was catalogued in Stuttgart and assigned the date stamped on the binding, '1550'. Two articles were written subsequently about the bindings of Otto Heinrich's books, and still neither author found the Tyndale. It is to the great credit of the present cataloguers of the Bibelsammlung that the latest Tyndale discovery has been made.

This scenario is as much a tale of the developing consciousness of the academic world to the value of William Tyndale and his legacy as it is about the location of a precious artifact of English history. And yet, very similar items go unnoticed everyday. Many of these may be found in the book market. For instance, in 1995, three very rare editions of John Frith's works were offered in a catalogue of English Books of the Sixteenth-Century by London Bookseller Bernard Quaritch. The first and only edition of Frith's

first work, the *Pistle to the Christian Reader*, was published at Antwerp by Tyndale's printer, Hoochstraaten, in 1529, one year before the Pentateuch. It was a landmark treatise of inflammatory anti-papist sentiment. Frith was a brilliant intellectual, as well as a friend and assistant to Tyndale in his translation projects. Frith was burned at the stake at age 30 in 1533, two years before Tyndale. The asking price for this book was one thirtieth of the price brought by the Tyndale Pentateuch the same year.

Treasures are still to be found, whether one is a collector or a scholar making use of public and private collections. I have held and catalogued many sixteenth-century books and I can say that every one bears a testimony of its era. We as scholars, of all people, should learn to recognize the value in every printed article from this era. The nature of the times and the printing industry make the sixteenth-century imprint an innovative vehicle of controversy and ideas. If one sits down, in a quiet and private place, and begins slowly and carefully to examine one of these items, the story of its making, its readership and its survival begin to unfold.

I recommend that one begins with the text. Sixteenth-century authors were emboldened by this new tool of propaganda which had only recently been wrested away from the economic control of the Church and its mediation of everything that was printed.<sup>[7]</sup> The language, on every side of every argument, is filled with emotive imagery and inflammatory sentiment. The rhetoric of More and Tyndale in their exchanges is well known. Things grew even more dramatic. The language of the exiles, coming out of Germany, Switzerland and the low countries and smuggled into England during the reign of Mary, kept the communication at a fever pitch until it was safe for all to return and speak openly. When the exiles returned from the continent, they brought with them all they had learned from the continental printers. Under Elizabeth, the Reformation was not only authoritatively supported, but elegantly propagated due to a flowering print trade. The writings of John Bale, John Foxe and others sounded a trumpet call, and Elizabethan society became flooded with the treatises, opinions and testimonies of the Reformist majority. Mass media, in a sense, was born. The texts and illustrations – we have all seen the comic parodies of the Church in woodcut – are as accessible, readable, enjoyable or irritating today as they had to have been to the Elizabethans.

But unlike our present day conveyors of mass ideology, newspapers, magazines, and paperbacks, the sixteenth-century book was constructed from materials that have withstood the damages of time and use. I suggest that during one's quiet encounter a second examination be made of the effort and

choice of materials that went into making each book. Some display great attention to presentation of text and argument, an indication of the type of reader the publisher is targeting and also the level of competition. A lovely example of this is a side by side comparison of the folio editions of the Geneva and Bishops' Bibles. Other sixteenth-century books, however, are not fearfully and wonderfully made. The 1559 John Day publication, attributed to Bishop Aylmer, entitled, *An harborowwe For Faithfull and Trewe Subjectes, agaynst the late blowne Blaste, concerninge the Government of Women, where be confuted all such reasons a stranger of late made in that behalf, with a brieve exhortation to OBEDIENCE*, is actually a glorified pamphlet, hastily and simply put together in answer to John Knox's 'The First Blast of the Trumpet' – a tract along the lines of the 'Monstrous Reign of Women'. Regardless of quality or cost, the materials themselves are to thank for the survival and condition of most sixteenth-century publications. The handmade laid paper, the bindings of covered boards, the handsewn, rather than glued, technique of joining quires, are the characteristic features of the sixteenth-century book.

Most sixteenth-century books, if they have not been washed by their nineteenth-century owners, bear the unmistakable marks of their contemporary readership. The study of the inscriptions, marginalia, and manicule of Reformation books has captured the attention of more than one scholar. Several recent publications are dedicated to the reader responses of sixteenth-century books, and particularly Bibles. Marking in one's book was a highly practiced habit in the manuscript era, and continued well into the seventeenth-century when it began to die out (as did other sorts of book illustration). Because of this, we are able to compare the text before us to its interpretation by a contemporary hand. Some examples: a copy of the 1571 *West Saxon Gospels*, a pet project of Matthew Parker, lists in the margins a half dozen occasions of sermons given at St. Paul's in London by Alexander Nowell, with text and sermon title; a first edition Taverner's Bible of 1539 has the printer's name scored through; a Bishop's Bible is collated against the Vulgate with changes marked in the margins; several later New Testaments contain a strange form of shorthand symbols, the source of which is yet unknown.<sup>[8]</sup>

Finally, when investigating a sixteenth-century book, take careful note of its binding and endleaves where marks of previous ownership usually are found. The study of prior ownership is called provenance. Contemporary provenance is not always possible to determine with these books, particularly if one faced danger for possessing it. But occasionally, as in the case of

Bishop John Still's Anglo-Saxon Gospelbook, identities can be made through the investigation of inscriptions or handwriting analysis. Imagine how the notes of Philip Melancthon in his copy of Nicholas Bryling's *Biblia Sacrosancta* (Massachusetts Historical Society) enhance our reading of the Luther Bible. More often than not, though, the contemporary reader is a nameless scholar whose only clue of identity is the nature of his notations. However, as with the cases I've already mentioned, we have much to learn about the way the reformers read, and that was usually with a high awareness of language differential and a strong concern for textual integrity.

To illustrate my thesis, I pulled down from off a shelf one of the less-acclaimed sixteenth-century Bibles in the Van Kampen Collection. It is a 1537 Matthew's Bible, and I thought it appropriate for this discussion since the Matthew's Bible was a thinly disguised reprinting of Tyndale. We at the Scriptorium affectionately refer to this particular book as 'the Martyr's Bible'. We have several hundred visitors to the Scriptorium a month, mostly from the Grand Haven and surrounding Lake Michigan coastline communities, and this is the Bible they want to see. It was, in fact, the first Bible in the collection. It is far from our most costly book and frankly it is in terrible shape. Many leaves are missing, those which remain are badly damaged and stained. It has a poor quality eighteenth-century binding, repaired in the nineteenth-century with tape at the spine. Yet we have no plans to refurbish the Martyr's Bible because the condition is an important part of its history. The dark red stains which are found throughout the book are unusual, not only in color, but in that they appear as if they were acquired through immersion. An early hand has recorded on the front pastedown that the stains are from the blood of a martyr whose life was lost during the Marian persecutions.

I have been in my vocation long enough to know that there are those people in the world who will take advantage of one's religious sentiment for their own gain. Relic-peddlers are as old as the Church. Yet, for the sake of those who have come to love this book, we have decided not to have the stains tested. And indeed, there are enough signs in the other pages that illustrate the crisis of that dark period of English history. All the printed marginal notes have been expunged with white paint, in conformance to a 1538 decree by Henry VIII. The Prologue to Romans, Tyndale's theological masterpiece, has also been painted over in white. The majority of the reader's marks is located in the Psalms. Here, the reader has added the Latin rubrics which are missing from the English versions. The reading of these rubrics with the biblical text was virtually second nature to the sixteenth-century

churchgoer. Their omission must have seemed odd, and this reader is more comfortable having his English Psalter organized in the same way his Latin one was. This suggests a process of adaptation of the old tradition to the new. There is one manícula – that little pointing hand – at Job 33. The text reads: I offended, but He hath chastened and reformed me.

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New discoveries will continue to confirm the relevance of the private collection and the book trade to the study of Tyndale and his times. It is ironic that the private book world often provides the opportunity for an odd marriage of two normally disparate parties, that is, amassed wealth and academia. When it comes to important primary material, both parties need each other.

More striking is the parallel between the success of the Reformation in the sixteenth-century and the viability of Tyndale studies today. My initial citation of John Foxe is true: the men whose mouths were unjustly shut were heard, and their message heeded, as a result of the power of the sixteenth-century book trade. Likewise today, the rare book market, and the collectors who fuel the trade, facilitate the research and publication of the monuments of the English Reformation through those of us who still hear the voices of the past.

*Kimberly L. Van Kampen*

[First given at a half-day seminar in London, 26 April 1997: *Tyndale: New Discoveries*]

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## Two Services

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On Sunday 29th June 1997 I had the privilege of giving the annual Thomas More Commemorative Sermon at Mattins (from the Prayer Book) in Chelsea Old Church. This historic London church contains More's Chapel, with striking memorials to Henry's Chancellor (though the statue facing Cheyne Walk and the river is not on church property). The Vicar, the Revd. Dr Peter Elvy, had kindly asked me to talk mainly about Tyndale, and the Reformation context, which I was glad to do.

The music, from a few young singers, was outstandingly good. The distinguished congregation, which included the Mayor and Mayoress of the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea, was strikingly attentive, and welcoming. Though it had not been possible to give advanced notice to members, the Tyndale Society was represented, and there was considerable interest.

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St Dunstan's-in-the-West, Fleet Street, is the only church in which we know for certain that Tyndale preached. This was the location for a joint occasion on Tuesday 8th July arranged by the Tyndale Society and the Prayer Book Society. Evensong was conducted by the Vicar, the Revd. John Salter, and the organist was Sir Nicholas Jackson.

This historic London church has a Victorian building, and is not at all as it was in 1524 when Tyndale preached there: but the presence of Tyndale was keenly felt, in the Old Testament and New Testament readings, and in the fine sermon given by one of our patrons, Baroness James of Holland Park (P.D. James), who is also a Vice-President of the Prayer Book Society. We are honoured to be able to print Lady James' address in the current Journal. Over fifty people, from both organisations, were made warmly welcome by the Vicar. It is an event that we hope may be repeated.

*David Daniell*

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## Address for the Tyndale Society/Prayer Book Society

St Dunstan's-in-the-West, Fleet Street, Tuesday 8th July 1997

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It is for me a great privilege as well as a joy to be here this evening to preach at this first service jointly organised by the Tyndale Society and the Prayer Book Society. And it is particularly appropriate that we should be holding this service in St Dunstan's-in-the-West, since Professor Daniell reminds me that it was in an earlier St Dunstan's church on this site that Tyndale preached before. Realising that there was no place in all England where he could safely translate the New Testament from Greek into English, he sailed for Germany and an exile from which he never returned.

The Prayer Book Society this year celebrates its 25th anniversary. The Society is attracting new members by the day and I think I can safely say that, without it, the Book of Common Prayer would have been totally lost through wilful neglect or antagonism. The Tyndale Society, formed in January 1995, is younger but, through its conferences, lectures and its scholarly journal, *Reformation*, has already established a reputation and is growing in influence. This evening we are meeting together, for the first but, I hope, not for the last time, to celebrate and give thanks to Almighty God for the work and witness of two of the most remarkable Englishmen in our history, William Tyndale and Thomas Cranmer.

Happily we know more about both men now than we did a few years ago, thanks to the work of their biographers. In 1994 David Daniell produced the first biography of Tyndale for sixty years, published in the quincentenary year of his birth. Professor Daniell describes the more dramatic events of Tyndale's life, assesses his achievement as translator and expositor, and explores his influence on the theology and history of the reformation. It was due to the influence of this biography and the re-issue of the Tyndale Bible that the Tyndale Society came into being, with Professor Daniell as Chairman.

Then in 1996 we in the Prayer Book Society particularly welcomed the appearance of Diarmaid MacCulloch's masterly biography of Thomas Cranmer, the first biography for over thirty years, and one which makes use of previously unpublished material in the Vatican and Polish archives. This is a work of formidable size and scholarship in which Mr MacCulloch leads us through the maze of technological argument, compromise, political expediency and barbarism which accompanied that confused historical, religious and social upheaval which was the English Reformation, and shows us clearly across three centuries the essential man.

We have always known more about Cranmer than about Tyndale. Even the exact date of Tyndale's birth is uncertain, and the place of his birth is unknown, although it is thought to have been at Slimbridge in Gloucestershire. He was educated at Oxford and ordained priest. He spent some time at Cambridge, and it is probably there that he came under the influence of Erasmus and the Protestant reformers. He realised that he



could not safely carry out his work without going into exile, and after the Bishop of London had refused him patronage, he left for Hamburg. Most of his translation was done at Antwerp where, in 1534, he produced his revised New Testament. In that same year he was betrayed by a fellow Englishman, endured eighteen months of interrogation during which he steadfastly refused to recant his Protestant faith, was handed over to the secular power, led out to the stake and burnt. So short a life, so little known, such a terrible end. Yet no other man has had a more profound and lasting effect on English culture, the English Church or the English language. Of no one can it be more truly said: 'He being dead yet speaketh'.

In contrast we see in Cranmer the powerful archbishop, confident and trusted adviser of one of England's most formidable kings, active in the royal divorce which finally severed the country from Rome, manipulator, negotiator, at home not merely in the seventeenth century corridors of powers, but at its very heart, one of the most controversial, fascinating and complex figures of his turbulent age. Two very different men; two very different lives.

But the great matters which they had in common surpass any difference in life-style or status or in the precise theology of the reformed religion. Both were martyrs of the reformation and for them this would surely have come first. The piled faggots, the flames, their faithfulness even to the end would have ensured their eternal salvation. And we should not, of course, impose our twentieth century sensibilities on their times. It is hard for us to enter into the minds of men who, in the name of the God of love, burnt other Christians alive because of differences of belief about the real presence in the Eucharist or justification by faith. The torture chambers of our own age, our more secret and secular cruelties, do not entitle us to assume a moral superiority over the men who heaped the faggots round Tyndale and Cranmer. The reformation for which they died gave us the Church of England, rooted in scripture, fortified by tradition, sustained by the sacraments, Catholic and reformed, yet it is very doubtful whether either Tyndale or Cranmer would today feel at home in that Church. But it was they who were among its chief architects, they who gave us the superb liturgy which we are in this Church to celebrate and use this evening.

And this, of course, leads us to the second great matter they had in common. Both were geniuses of the written word, the two greatest masters of language which this country has produced. It is to Tyndale more than any other single man that we owe our English Bible and a Bible of such truth, power and beauty that it has become the great glory of Christendom.

Not for the first time in our history the man and the hour came together. Tyndale was uniquely fitted for the task to which he had been called both by his passionate loyalty to Christ's Gospel and by his unique talents. He was a priest, a scholar and a remarkably accomplished linguist, able to work from the original Hebrew, a tongue not understood in England at that time, as well as from the Greek text and, with assistance, from the Latin and from Luther's German. He was industrious, brave, meticulous and dedicated. But above all as a translator he was a conscientious craftsman of language, concerned that his translation should be accurate, simple, and should speak to the human heart; should have, in his own words, 'grace and sweetness, sense and pure understanding'. He understood about stress and rhythm in

sentence construction. He could use elevated language where appropriate, but he was above all trenchant, colloquial, homely, down to earth.

The King James revisers wrote a text to be read aloud in church and they occasionally changed Tyndale into more orotund, Latinised and rhythmic prose. Tyndale wrote for the herdsman in the fields, for the weaver at his loom, for the cottager and his wife at their fireside. In an age when Latin was the language of education and scholarship he showed his countrymen that their tongue could express simply and eloquently the highest aspirations of the human spirit, that English was a language worthy of God's word and of His worship.

Tyndale's phrases, incorporated as they were into the King James Bible, two-thirds of which is pure Tyndale, run like a golden thread through our religious life, our culture, our history and our literature. 'And they heard the voice of the Lord God as He walked in the garden in the cool of the day'; Tyndale at his simplest. 'And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes.' 'Behold I stand at the door and knock'. 'Where two or three are gathered together in Thy name.' 'The spirit is willing but the flesh is weak.' All Tyndale. Grace and sweetness, sense and pure understanding. The parable of the Prodigal Son in the Authorised Version is virtually Tyndale unaltered. 'I will arise and go to my father and will say unto him, "Father, I have sinned against Heaven and before thee and am no more worthy to be called thy son."' The rising vowels at the beginning of the sentence and the full thudding consonants of grief and repentance at the end make it the perfect marriage of sense and sound.

And so too with Cranmer. He also had a natural ear for the cadences of English prose. He too, by God's grace, was the man for the hour. His biographer points out that Cranmer could not have known in 1552 that he was providing a vehicle for English worship that would remain unchanged for four hundred years. Being a modest man the responsibility would have appalled him. But he was doing even more. He influenced the whole direction of the English language. His language runs like a golden thread through the whole of our literature and there is hardly a writer since who has not been profoundly influenced by it. He was not ashamed to borrow from others, from Miles Coverdale, Richard Joye and Richard Taverner, and where he altered it, the change was always an improvement. He knew when to use an Italianate word, when a simpler homely one would be stronger, when to use them together in marvellous balance. But he was not writing for effect. He was writing for worship and for truth; above all for truth. That is why those misguided revisers – and I am tempted to use a stronger word – who attempt to rewrite the Collects do more than destroy their beauty, they destroy and diminish their meaning. In this restless age with its arrogant contempt for authority and tradition, when anything new is seen as an improvement, why cannot we have the grace to recognise when a thing is perfect, and the humility to leave it alone?

The picture most of us associate most strongly with Cranmer is of that old frail man, after a life which held its share of prevarication, compromise and political manoeuvring, steadfastly holding his right hand in the flame so that the hand which had offended by signing his recantation should be the first to feel the flames. As Diarmaid MacCulloch points out in the biography, we live in an ecumenical, sceptical and compromising age where honest doubt is honoured above clear ideological certainty. We do not condemn Cranmer for his recantation; rather we approve the

reasonableness and honesty of a man who will avoid an agonising public death if he can do so. But for us, who by God's grace will never have to face so appalling a choice, there still comes that moment of decision, sometimes in small matters, more often in large, when prevarication and compromise have to stop and we can only say, in the words of Luther, 'Here stand I. I can do no other'. In this moment Cranmer is our example and our inspiration.

So too with Tyndale. For me the moment which I remember most in the biography is of that cold, betrayed and doomed prisoner writing to ask for warm clothes and a Hebrew dictionary. He knew the death he was facing, but the work had to go on. And I like to think that he saw beyond the walls of his prison the hills and meadows of his native Gloucestershire, and could picture the turning soil behind the ploughboy – that ploughboy who, because of his work, could in knowledge of the scriptures be the equal of any bishop in Christendom. And if as Christians we believe that God has a purpose for each of us, however humble in the world's eyes that task may seem, then Tyndale's example of steadfast perseverance even to the end is as much an example and inspiration for us as it was celebration of the human spirit.

But it is our privilege and our joy as members of the Tyndale Society and the Prayer Book Society to do more than take courage and resolution from these examples of courage and perseverance. It is our task to ensure that what is most lasting about them – their work – is never forgotten. I find it astonishing that Tyndale, without whom we would never have had the King James Bible, is unknown to countless young people who go to university to read English; equally astonishing that there is an increasing number of children who leave school without ever hearing the King James Bible or the Book of Common Prayer, the greatest works of literature in the language. If Tyndale and Cranmer had not lived, I would not be speaking to you this evening in the language I am using. We would almost certainly not have had Shakespeare. English would not now be a world language and one of extraordinary richness, strength and versatility.

Praise for the Bible and the Prayer Book as literature would, of course, have been incomprehensible to Tyndale and to Cranmer. Tyndale was translating into the language of the common people the good news of man's salvation and the hope of everlasting life. Cranmer was setting out to establish a firm foundation for the reformed church in worship and theology. Yet, as a writer, I like to believe that both had a creator's joy in their genius, that they knew the supreme satisfaction of putting the right words in the right order and that, snuffing out their candles at the end of the working day and looking back at what they had achieved, they knew that it was good.

May we who enjoy so rich a heritage from their example and their genius resolve that their work shall be honoured and, above all, used both in private reading and in public worship, not only in this our generation, but for all generations to come.

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## Fourth Annual Lambeth Tyndale Lecture

1 October 1997

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### Chairman's Introduction

'The first Lambeth Tyndale Lecture was given by the Archbishop himself: the second by me: the third by the scholar Professor Carsten Peter Thiede – and tonight – well, we are really going on and up.

'It is an honour for me to introduce the Right Honorable Frank Dobson MP. Mr Dobson has been a Member of Parliament for Holborn and St Pancras South for fifteen years. He joined the Labour Party in 1958 at the age of eighteen, from school in York and the LSE, and he has had a rich history of service, including being a Camden Borough Councillor and serving as Assistant Secretary to the Local Ombudsman: indeed, his instinct for needs at the grassroots make him a must for our Ploughboy Group – perhaps our next meeting will be in the Cabinet Office. In the Commons, he has had important Shadow positions, all with that common touch for how the real world lives, and also including Shadow Leader of the House. Since May he has, of course, been Secretary of State for Health.

'I vividly recall that some months ago I happened to turn on Radio 4, and caught the last moments of *Any Questions*. I heard the questioner from the floor asking which one book would the members of the panel wish to save. Frank Dobson replied without hesitation "Tyndale's 1526 New Testament" to ringing cheers from my kitchen. The next panellist agreed. I wrote at once to Mr Dobson, who joined the Tyndale Society at once – and here he is tonight. Tyndale Society membership now penetrates to the very heart of the Cabinet.

'I must explain that Mr Dobson has come to us directly from the Labour Party Conference in Brighton. He has given us this time from that important conference, and more largely from the mammoth task of making the NHS work, without more money – a task which makes the Labours of Hercules look like doing the washing up. We are immensely grateful to you, and look forward to your lecture, *Spread the Word – the Example of William Tyndale*.'

## Frank Dobson's Speech

It is a great honour to be invited to deliver this Lambeth lecture, *Spread the word – the example of William Tyndale*.

I do so with trepidation as I am in the presence of scholars whose knowledge of Tyndale and his contemporaries is unchallenged. I am in the presence of clerics whose knowledge of theology extends to complex corners I don't even know exist. I am also in the presence of people whose philosophical insights into what I propose to talk about far exceed my own.

I am also painfully conscious that I am delivering my thoughts at Lambeth Palace, although I subscribe to no religious beliefs. You may suspect therefore that there is little good in me, even before I start. I hesitate to think what I will have proved to you by the time I finish.

I start from the belief that William Tyndale's 1526 translation of the New Testament is the most important book in the English language.

Its impact on the religious, political and social development of our country was just as great. It had a similar impact on our literature and even more on the development of the English language.

For it elevated plain and pithy English to new heights – and coined phrases that ring down the centuries. It established the word patterns of spoken English as the staple of the plain written word, wherever plain English still survives.

So it was an important work. But it was more than that. It was a revolutionary work. It changed the world into which it was launched. And I believe that Tyndale intended that it should.

The intellectual ferment of the times and the availability of cheaper printing provided him with his opportunity. His scholarship and his almost unnerving instinct for the music of our language furnished him with the means. His commitment to spreading the word supplied his motive. And it's his motive which I believe put him squarely and famously on the right side of one of the great divisions which separate mankind.

And that's the division between people who like to keep their knowledge to themselves and the people who like to share their knowledge with other people.

I am a dedicated opponent of the knowledge hoarders. I am a strong supporter of the knowledge spreaders. And William Tyndale was a knowledge spreader.

The hoarders of knowledge have a multiplicity of motives. Some recognise that knowledge is power. So they keep it to themselves for practical reasons to maintain a position of privilege or to sustain a mystique which surrounds their priesthood or monarchy, oligarchy or political in-group to give themselves unmerited advantage. Others keep knowledge to themselves for financial gain. Another group are motivated by snobbery. They feel that their eminence or singularity is undermined if others come to know and appreciate the things that they appreciate. Others simply can't help it. They get a kick out of being 'on the inside'.

All these reasons for keeping knowledge from other people are harmful to the state of the nation. They always have been and they always will be. Any existing 'establishment' will always have an interest in perpetuating its power or privileges. So the hoarding of knowledge tends to be 'conservative' with a small 'c' – but it is not

the monopoly of the right in politics. There have been, and still are, hoarders of knowledge in the middle ground of politics and on the left as well.

Let me start by looking at the hoarders of knowledge who do it to keep up their power or their mystique. These people feel threatened if there is a danger that their group's monopoly of certain knowledge will be broken. And they are right to feel threatened. History suggests that if they lose sole control of the levers of knowledge they will indeed lose power.

Look at William Tyndale's own impact on the times in which he lived. He is reported to have said to another scholar: '... if God spare my life, ere many years, I will cause a boy that drives the plough, shall know more of the scripture than thou dost'.

I believe that to be one of the most revolutionary statements in the English language. If threatened both church and state, the political and the religious establishment. They believed the sort of thing Tyndale was doing would bring about 'the end of civilisation as they knew it'. And they were right. It did. Their analysis was correct. Their fears were justified.

They feared that if more and more people were able to read the Christian message for themselves it would lead to more and more of them questioning the established order. Not just the religious order, but the whole lot.

And as Henry VIII was busily tying church and state together as never before, the link between the church and state and their consequent joint vulnerability was plain for all to see.

So the King and the rest of the Establishment set about trying to stop the spread of Tyndale's works. In the end they had him imprisoned and killed. As we all know,

## **FIRST PACIFIC TYNDALE CONFERENCE SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA**

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### ***AMERICA'S EARLIEST BIBLES***

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Henry VIII had no compunction about killing any threat to himself or his heirs. The possession of royal blood or a bishopric or scholarship was no deterrent. At times it seemed to goad him on.

As late as 1543, seven years after Tyndale was dead, Henry tried to pursue him beyond the grave. In 1543 he got Parliament to pass 'An Act for the Advancement of True Religion and the Abolishment of the Contrary'. When you read the Act you discover that Tyndale's New Testament was the contrary they were trying to abolish.

Indeed it specifically ordered that 'the crafty, false and untrue translation of Tyndale' by Act of Parliament to be 'clearly and utterly abolished, extinguished and forbidden to be kept or used in this realm'.

It imposed penalties on anyone who read the Bible in English, even in private, without a licence from the King. The Act didn't prevent the English Bible or New Testament being read privately by the 'highest and most honest sort' – not an inevitable pairing then or now. But that exemption applied to 'no women, nor artificers, apprentices, journeymen, serving men of the degree of yeoman or under, husbandmen nor labourers'. For as the Act made clear, to read Tyndale's Bible led them to form 'divers naughty and erroneous opinions' which could lead to 'the great unquietness of the realm'.

So those in authority tried their best to stifle the spread of Tyndale's gospels just as they had stifled the man himself before burning his body at the stake. But by then it was too late. The cat was out of the bag. The genie was out of the bottle.

There was no stopping the spread of the New Testament in English. Like the nuclear bomb, it couldn't be de-invented. It was now becoming a part of our culture, a part of

**B O O K   N O W !**

## **THIRD OXFORD INTERNATIONAL TYNDALE CONFERENCE**

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### ***TYNDALE'S EARLY YEARS***

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**CALL FOR SHORT PAPERS ...** *There is room on the programme for short twenty-minute papers: these should be submitted for consideration by 30 May 1998 at the latest and sent to the Organizer:*

**The Tyndale Society Secretary, 10B Littlegate Street, Oxford, UK**

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the religious and political reality with which those in power had to deal. And it and its offspring, the King James Bible, were to turn the world upside down.

The English Bible based upon Tyndale's translation was the foundation of dissent – the basis of personal religious self-confidence. Providing he could read at all, the boy that drove the plough could have access to God's word without needing the services of mediator or advocate. Over the next century and a half, the worst fears of those who tried to suppress Tyndale's Bible were realised. Their world was turned upside down. And his bible has contributed to the process. The divine right of kings suffered from its exposure to criticism, which drew on the bible. It never recovered from that close scrutiny.

Without an English bible, it's hard to believe that another unfashionable, unclubbable figure, Bunyan, would have written *Pilgrim's Progress* – he surely went to war – civil war – with a bible in his knapsack and he, as Kipling described him, was 'the lowest of the low'. 'A tinker out of Bedford, a vagrant oft in quod, a private under Fairfax, a Minister of God.'

Bunyan was both a product of a world turned upside down and one of those who did the turning. One of the lower sort of persons Henry VIII had in mind. Just the sort he but tried in vain to suppress.

The trouble for the upholders of any status quo who rely on a monopoly of knowledge is that their corpus of knowledge grows flaccid and weak. It can't defend itself and its users lose the capacity to defend it because they are unaccustomed to challenges other than from people like themselves. They may dispute with one another, but when they do that, all the disputants accept the in-group's set of rules – so when someone appears who acquires the knowledge without acquiring the conventional rules of civilised debate at the same time – when someone like that appears the effect is that of the vandal at the gates – and a knowledgeable vandal at that.

Contemporary wisdom in whatever age is vulnerable to attack unless it is subjected to tough criticism. As Milton said it so well, I'll quote him rather than burden you with a pedestrian paraphrase. He said in *Areopagitica*, 'I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue, unexercised and unbreathed that never sallies out and sees her adversary ...'.

He was convinced that a worthwhile argument could not be won 'without heat and dust'. So it's frequently the case that conventional wisdom buckles quickly under assault. And trying to suppress the challenge doesn't work. As Francis Bacon said, 'a forbidden writing is thought to be a certain spark of truth that flies up in the faces of them that seek to tread it out.'

So it's clear that knowledge must be fighting fit – and that it won't stay that way if some group has a monopoly of it. It will be used for the benefit of the few rather than the many. And later it will be too weak even to protect the privileged. So I'm a truth spreader because I'm against privilege. And I'm a truth spreader because I like the truth and want to see it triumph.

Many improvements in our society have resulted from pulling back the curtains to reveal the doings of a privileged few. The scribblers who surreptitiously took notes in the gallery of the unreformed House of Commons and published the proceedings did far more for English liberty than any of those they reported on.



William Russell's reports for the Times on the Crimean War did more to draw attention to the shortcomings of the conduct of military affairs and to provoke action to improve things than all the private musings of the officer corps were ever likely to have done. Wider knowledge of wrongdoing, inadequacy, inefficiency, ineffectiveness or waste will be uncomfortable for those involved, but it will benefit everybody in the long run. That's why we need to carry forward the spread of information.

The advancement of knowledge also requires that knowledge be spread. That of course is the basis of the patent laws. In exchange for a monopoly over the use of an invention or innovation, the originator of the idea is forced to put it on public record so that others in the same field can learn of the latest ideas and developments. As a result knowledge builds up and science and technology progresses.

It's well known that all sorts of organisations have knowledge, which they regard as commercially confidential – because, if the information were disclosed it could take away their commercial advantage over their competitors. This is understandable and reasonable but even this form of knowledge-hoarding can be harmful to the public.

In my job as Secretary of State for Health, I recently presented awards to nurses for innovations in caring for patients. New approaches that were better for patients and which saved money. When I asked of them what was being done to spread these good ideas, I was told by some of the nurses concerned that they had been told by the managers of their hospital not to spread their knowledge. Because if they did, it would undermine their hospital's competitive advantage over neighbouring hospitals.

When I told this story to a pair of distinguished heart surgeons they gave me examples of management efforts on similar grounds to prevent the spread of new techniques in heart surgery. So you can see why I am a knowledge spreader rather than a knowledge hoarder.

And that brings me to the snobbish hoarders of knowledge – people who feel diminished if they feel their elevated taste is being shared by people outside their magic circle. The sort of people who liked tenors singing *Nessun Dorma* until it was popularised by Pavarotti for the Italia '90 World Cup.

I spotted another wonderful example a few weeks ago when a columnist in one of the broadsheet newspapers wrote disparagingly of all the people who had started to read the poetry of WH Auden simply because of the funeral reading in the film *Four Weddings and a Funeral*.

That poem had a dramatic impact because it is a good poem – relevant and illuminating – and well delivered. It brought Auden to people who had never heard his name. I thought that was wonderful.

But the snobs seem to feel that a work of art is diluted if it is widely appreciated. Surely anyone who really thinks Auden's poetry is good would want to spread it to others. Surely if a tenor has a wonderful voice and is singing a beautiful aria, the wonder and the beauty are not diminished because others are listening and liking what they hear. Surely the insight or lift to the human spirit which you can get from a poem or a play or a tune or a painting is not curtailed by the knowledge that thousands of others have experienced what we are experiencing. Surely a pleasure shared is a pleasure doubled.

I'm glad to say that the new Government's approach to education, art and culture is quite the reverse of the snobbery of the knowledge hoarders. We want to see them spread to the many – not confined to the few.

That's why we are determined to raise levels of literacy – to make sure that the modern equivalent of the plough boy will be able to read. Let's just stop a minute and think what our day would have been like if we couldn't read or write. Without literacy no-one can acquire knowledge let alone benefit from it. I'm sure Tyndale would have approved of our programme to equip everyone to acquire and benefit from contemporary knowledge.

Equally our approach to art and culture is to open it up to everyone who is interested and to catch the interest of others who are not. That doesn't mean diluting standards. It means showing to more people what pleasures high standards of art can bring, raising expectations and making people dissatisfied with low standards – always on the look out for improvement and higher standards.

Then of course I come to the people who are hoarders of knowledge because they can't help it. The people who believe their status is diminished – their uniqueness undermined if others know what they know – the 'in-group' people.

However old they are, they are the equivalent of the child in the school who says 'I know something you don't know'.

They are to be found everywhere – in business, in universities and colleges, in politics, in the Civil Service, in the Church, the armed forces, trade unions, in voluntary organisations, in the media, local and national charities. They are everywhere.

I must confess that I don't really know what we can do about them. They have been there in every society, in every part of the world. I guess they will be around forever. Perhaps it's best just to let them alone – marinating in the sense of their own importance – while the rest of us get on with our lives.

So you'll have gathered by now that I am in favour of spreading knowledge. That's not just because I have always believed the truth of Francis Bacon's statement that 'knowledge itself is power'. It's also because I believe we can apply to knowledge what Bacon said about money: 'money is like muck – not good except it be spread'.

I want to see knowledge spread to the many. That is not just good for the individual. It's good for all the rest of us. It's good for society. It's good for the economy. It's the only way we will be able to pay our way in the world.

It's a commonplace that we are living in the 'information age' and that those who do not command the skills to have access to information will get left behind. That doesn't just apply to individuals. It applies to whole countries.

So we have got to learn to spread the word by the newest means available. But it's not just a question of commanding the technology. Just having the means won't do the trick.

We also need the motivation. And I can say that the new Government has the motivation. We are determined to provide our people – all our people – with the means to gain all the knowledge they need or desire. We are committed to opening up the process of government to public scrutiny. We will pass a Freedom of Information Act. We are committed to building up the role of the House of Commons. We are strengthening its capacity to scrutinise the functioning of the Government.

That's not just right in principle. It is advantageous in practice. Even if some people have a monopoly of knowledge, they never have a monopoly of wisdom. So the more people who know what's going on, the more people who have a say, the more likely we are to come to the right decisions.

But that will only happen if all the people have the necessary information at their disposal. And that is what we are determined to promote. The dissemination of information so that people can reach informed decisions.

I hope you won't think I am making a party political point when I say that the new Government is committed deeply and seriously to the spread of knowledge – so that it can benefit the many and not just the few. So that it can benefit the individual concerned but also the nation as a whole, by improving our chances of paying our way in the world and having a greater influence for good on world affairs.

We will be helped in this by the fact that English is, as the Prime Minister called it yesterday in his speech at Brighton, the world's first language. And so it is.

And that brings me back to William Tyndale. Because the dominance of English in world communications is owed in no small measure to Tyndale's crucial contribution to the development of our language. That's why I feel so privileged to have been asked to deliver this lecture celebrating Tyndale's revolutionary contribution to the spread of knowledge and his inspiration to those like you and I who share his wish to spread the word.

### **Chairman's Closing Remarks**

After prolonged applause, the Chairman thanked the lecturer:

'Mr Dobson, the applause speaks for itself. It has been exhilarating to hear of Tyndale, and his 1526 New Testament, at the head of a centuries-long revolution of knowledge, seen from 1997. The impact of that book has come to us so freshly. It has all been so gently given this evening, but your passionate commitment to freedom of information, coming from the very heart of government, has been an inspiration. You have shared the vigour of your knowledge with us, quoting (as far as I could tell, from memory) from Milton, Bunyan, Kipling and Auden – it is marvellous to hear that John Milton was in the Prime Minister's speech at the party conference. You have given us a rare experience. We all thank you very much indeed.'

There followed further prolonged applause.

*David Daniell*

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## Gloucester's Fame – England's Shame!

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The first meeting in Gloucestershire of The Tyndale Society proved to be a great success.

At 5.30pm on a damp October evening there was a well-attended Choral Evensong in the Cathedral quire. No choirboys (it was their 'day off'), but a fine group of male choristers who also sang a Purcell anthem. The Precentor, Canon Neil Heavisides, led the devotions and included in the readings from the Tyndale translation was the wonderful passage from the book of Jonah. The congregation was also moved by the list of names and circumstances read out by Canon Norman Chatfield for intercessory prayer.

Thirty friends had booked for the buffet supper in the richly panelled Laud room in Church House. Nearer 50 attended the lecture which followed and it was a great opportunity, for me at least, to meet so many who had contacted me by 'phone or letter during the preceding weeks.

We were indebted to the Revd David Ireson for his superb introduction to our speaker, and it was explained that David is one of the members of our 'ploughboy' group, the 'grassroots' committee which is currently looking at ways of spreading the word about The Tyndale Society even more widely.

Sir Roland Whitehead then gave one of his fine discourses from which I need not quote since it will be found in full on page 45 of this Journal.

It is sufficient to tell that he struck a rich vein in the imagination of his audience which he continued to work without having to bore. Sir Roland's personal account of the life of William Tyndale was, and is, really splendid and worthy of our attention. We were fascinated by references to the craft of the translator from his present day experience. There were many other such insights and some amusing references to words left out of subsequent bible versions. We were warmed by his enthusiasm and obvious expertise.

The lecture was judged to be as valuable to founder-members as it was to newcomers to the study of our great (Gloucestershire) man!

*David Green*

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## William Tyndale, Gloucester's Fame and England's Shame

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My talk to you tonight is headed *William Tyndale – Gloucester's Fame and England's Shame*. We are in the right place for appreciating the former and, with humility, we must appreciate the latter. My story will tell you how these things came about.

The life and work of William Tyndale has many facets and we can all approach it in our own, and perhaps, very personal way. In a rather overcrowded life I happen to be the President of the Institute of Translation and Interpreting. This doesn't transform me into a wizard translator or, indeed, as Tyndale was, a master of eight languages. Presidents seem to attend endless committee meetings and spend time grousing over the accounts for the year ... However, it does bring one into close contact with a huge variety of people and languages. It stamps firmly on the mind the problems of translation and interpretation; things which many people either take for granted or don't think much about. Do we translate word for word? Do we stretch the meaning beyond this to get full comprehension? The maker of an electric kettle in England assumes that the instructions in Malaysian are clear and concise and no one will get electrocuted in Kuala Lumpur. This is big trust and an enormous responsibility placed on the translator. Likewise words in Hebrew, written several thousand years ago, have got to mean, in English, what they were intended to mean then. I will develop this theme later.

Cardinal Hume once said 'speaking is like prospecting for oil – if you don't strike it rich in ten minutes then stop boring!' I am aware that many of you know quite a lot about William Tyndale but some do not – if I am boring to the former I hope I am striking oil with the latter. Either way you will hear a very personal account of his life and work.

About forty years ago a three-word expression came into our language for good. On our Desert Island the only available literature was the 'Bible and Shakespeare'. There you have it. The two most quoted works in this country, though not necessarily the best read. And here we are tonight with Tyndale on the doorstep and Shakespeare up the road. How lucky we are. But then we say 'the Bible, what Bible?', and so the story begins.

Today there are nearly two thousand translations of the Bible from Albanian to Zulu by way of a hundred or so African tribal dialects spoken by only a handful of people. In our own language translations began with Early English, Anglo Saxon, and have continued to politically correct and feminine oriented versions. I have a lovely bible, the Glasgow Bible, recently published. That passage about Job's tribulations has a ring about it that makes us reflect. We do not know exactly what language and speech Tyndale had but this passage, the work of a devoted and intelligent churchman, has a resonance.

'I'll gie Job inty your power, then,' says God. 'But mind the rule – ye're no tae kill the man'. Satan smirked tae himself. 'Ah ken how tae deal wi Job noo'. So

he strikes doon Job's body wi ugly plooks an biles fae heid tae fit. Whit a state the man wis in! 'It's aw the faut o your God', moaned Job's wife. But still Job disny complain. 'Ye ken when God gies us guid things, were gled o it', he says. 'So when he gies us trouble, we jist hiv tae thole it'

Plooks and biles has a familiar ring. Tyndale talks about a man's 'brain-pan', about 'emerods and scurf' – we are in the same territory.

So today, here in Gloucestershire, we are in the privileged position of considering 'our man' and a book from his hand which not only 'gave us our language' but put English into what it is today – the world's leading language. One billion speakers of English worldwide, 85% of all international telephone calls in English, seventy percent of the world's letters addressed in English. Five hundred years ago things were different. French oriented, latinised English on the one hand and Anglo Saxon and vernacular on the other. You bred sheep and ate mutton, tended the swine and dined on pork. If you were posh you employed the latinate words, top-posh you communicated in Latin altogether and if you were ordinary then the short AngloSaxon words would do. The strength of our wonderful language is that we have this huge choice, solemn words for great occasions and matter of fact words for everyday use. Tyndale knew this well and used it to the full as we shall see.

Let's start at the beginning, five hundred years ago in Gloucestershire.

We do not have any record of the actual date of William Tyndale's birth but we are reasonably certain that it was in 1494 and that he came from a respectably well-to-do family. Tyndales had lived in Gloucestershire for many generations though the name suggests that their origins may have been in the north of England. A Tyndale family lived at Stinchcombe about a mile and a half west of Dursley in a house called Melksham Court and it is here that we can presume that Tyndale was born. The church at North Nibley is thought to be where he was baptised. As you all know the imposing monument to Tyndale, erected in 1866, stands on Nibley Knoll with its commanding view over the Severn valley. Edward Tyndale, probably a brother, lived at Hurts Farm just outside Slimbridge. The name Hutchins came into the Tyndale family at one point and it may have been adopted by the Tyndales who came from the north as a 'safe name' during the Wars of the Roses. However that may be, there are plenty of Hutchins in the Stinchcombe area today.

We must not think of William Tyndale as a country lad making it good in the sophisticated and intellectual world of fifteenth century England. And we must not think of Gloucestershire as a backwater, either. The Tyndales were successful merchants, landowners and people with some local power. Gloucestershire was agricultural and prosperous with large farms and a rich social and cultural life. Trade coursed through the county. From the north down the strip of land east of the River Severn. To the east to London, through Bristol and its port to Ireland, Europe and further afield to Africa.

There was trade, there was bussle and there was intellectual activity. As Professor David Daniell has pointed out, it is curious that the greatest users of the English language have lived on the edges of other cultures and other tongues. Chaucer, an official working in the Port of London spent many hours talking to sailors from far off countries. Shakespeare lived near enough to the edge of Wales to have known the country and language quite well and created affectionate Welsh characters for his

plays. The Cotswold trade in sheep, wool and woollen cloth meant a stream of merchants from other countries visiting the county with their languages and ideas. Tyndale's love, and great skill, in language must have stemmed from early youth. Equally his life in the farming community taught him the habits, thoughts, and, especially, the language of those around him. Posterity is hugely in luck.

Let's look for a moment at what this knowledge of local language might mean. Tyndale would be using the speech of the Vale of Berkeley which would be distinctive to the district. That is to say in sound, in the way the words are strung together and in the actual words themselves. Lord Reith had not yet been invented to press BBC English on the entire population or Mid Atlantic TV to finish the job with a flourish of flattened vowels and twangy adjectives ... Local speech was distinctive.

Local speech often imparts wisdom in a memorable, often rhythmic, form. 'A rolling stone gathers no moss' has a lovely feel to it. Many of Tyndale's Bible phrases must have had their genesis in this tradition. 'Be not weary of well doing', 'When two or three are gathered together', 'Seek and ye shall find'. We are in the company of a master wordsmith. The phrases of the 1530s are with us still today.

So here is Tyndale, young and intelligent, steeped in his Gloucestershire culture, attending a local school and meeting a wide range of cultivated people. But we have only a hazy idea of the details of this early life. What we do know is that in 1506 he went up to Magdalen College at Oxford and received a formal training in what were called in those days Quadrivium and Trivium – 'Quod and Triv' – as they were known. This would have been a course in Grammar, Rhetoric, Arithmetic, Music, Geometry, and Astronomy. Par for the course for those days and, actually, pretty good for us these days. In addition he studied philosophy as it was taught then, natural, moral and metaphysical with Aristotle to orchestrate the thinking.

He did spend some time at Cambridge but we know less about this.

Thereafter he returned to Gloucestershire and became tutor to Sir Thomas Walsh at Little Sodbury Manor. This was, and still is, a typical Cotswold manor house, rambling, stone roofed and walled, looking over to the river Severn and the Welsh hills beyond. Tyndale took Holy Orders, he preached locally with great effect, his duties to the Walsh children were minimal. Life was pretty good.

At what point his thoughts turned to Bible translation we do not know. He was a gifted linguist credited with seven languages. Latin would come naturally to him because that was the common language of Church and Officialdom. Remember, the great Erasmus came to England with not a word of English and got on splendidly with all he met; speaking Latin. Isn't it nice, incidentally, that Latin seems to be making a comeback in our schools.

Tyndale's Greek was more than excellent and the bedrock of his New Testament skills. He knew Spanish, German, French and clearly some others. Best of all he had learned Hebrew, the language of the Old Testament. Few, if any, knew Hebrew in England at that time and a Bible translation would have had to have been from St Jerome's Latin 'Vulgate' of the fourth century.

The turning point in his life came with a visit to London to see Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of London, a significant Greek scholar, and someone whom Tyndale hoped could house him and help with a translation of the New Testament from the Greek. Tunstall would act as a patron to this young man. No such luck. The bishop told him

to try elsewhere as he really didn't want to be involved. It was quite clear that the only opportunities lay in the continent of Europe.

Perhaps we might pause at this point and consider where Bible translation was in the 1520s.

In the first centuries of the Christian era we find translation of the Bible more or less keeping pace with the expansion of the Church to new countries. Latin, Armenian, Georgian, Gothic, Ethiop, Slavonic and many obscure languages received the Bible to themselves. But these were all 'Greek' communities. The Latin communities of Western Europe had little enthusiasm for translation and sought to prohibit any in the vernacular. Wyclif translated from Latin, thus a translation of a translation, and was immediately condemned. The Constitution of Oxford in 1408 expressly forbade the translation of any part of the Scripture into English. The Bible in English was not totally unknown, but only in part, in snippets secretly passed from hand to hand.

However in 1499, in Strasburg, a German Bible had appeared. Luther's New Testament came out in September 1522 and by 1524 the Bible could be found in Danish, French, Italian, Spanish (that is Catalan), Czech and Dutch. Luther's Pentateuch, the first vernacular Bible direct from the original Hebrew, appeared in 1523 and his complete Bible, with illustrations by Lucas Cranach, appeared in 1524. But not in England. No complete Bible, the Old and New Testaments in their entirety, had ever been attempted. Nor could it. Little wonder that Bishop Tunstall, although a brilliant Greek scholar, had cold feet.

Tyndale went to Germany in 1524. He moved about and it is not exactly clear where his wanderings took him till we hear of him settled in Cologne. North east Europe had three great trading ports – Hamburg, Antwerp and Cologne. Here were to found many printing houses and English business communities, both helpful to Tyndale. He worked with an assistant, a Friar called William Roye, but the Cologne authorities got wind of them and they only just managed to escape arrest and flee to Worms. This was the start of years of pursuit and persecution. We can only wonder at and admire the courage and tenacity of Tyndale.

In 1526, in Worms, a small hymn-book sized Bible was printed, probably of three or at most six thousand copies. This was Tyndale's New Testament translation.

Suddenly, in phrase after glorious phrase, the English we know and recognise came forth. 'A city that is set on an hill cannot be hid', 'No man can serve two masters', 'Ask and it shall be given you', 'Knock and it shall be opened unto you' and a hundred other familiar sayings. Here for the first time was a complete New Testament in the English that ordinary people could understand. Tyndale's boast to a cleric that one day 'the boy who drives the plough shall know more of the Bible than do you' was to come true. The English is clear and unambiguous; the language that people spoke; simple and uncomplicated. The book was small enough to be put in the pocket. The ploughboy could sit and read it under a hedge as he munched his bread and cheese at midday.

Three only, copies remain of the 1526 Tyndale New Testament. I was privileged, earlier this year, to visit St Paul's Cathedral Library to see one copy. 'Yes', I said, 'but where, in all these twenty-three thousand volumes, is the Tyndale Bible?', 'on the table just by your right elbow!', came the reply. I had just not noticed it ... it was



so unexpectedly small. Conservationists and librarians will shudder but I did place a finger on this sacred volume – it felt like touching the Holy Grail.

Only very recently has a third copy come to light in Germany. It had been rebound with the date of the binding printed on the cover so was not assumed to be an original 1526 New Testament. It is an exciting thought that there may be others. Alas! not under Gloucestershire hedges I fear ...

So far we have Gloucester's Fame. Now we turn to England's Shame.

Copies of the New Testament were shipped secretly to England, often in bales of cloth or barrels of grain, and readily snapped up by all who came by them. Booksellers and eager readers in London and the south east seized on this remarkable book. So too, did the authorities. Cardinal Wolsey summoned his bishops and the process of burning these Bibles began. 'Many children of iniquity, maintainers of Luther's sect, blinded through extreme wickedness, wandering away from the truth of the Catholic Faith, have craftily translated our English tongue', he stated. He claimed to have found many mistakes in this translation. As we might say now, 'he would do, wouldn't he'.

At this point Bishop Tunstall ordered copies to be piled up outside St Paul's Cathedral and to be burnt – fifty yards from where one of the remaining Tyndale Bibles now rests. Ironic, isn't it?

Tyndale was devastated. He was deeply shocked. Today we feel mortified.

Furthermore, orders were given to Sir John Hackett, the British Ambassador to the Low Countries, to act against printers and booksellers whereby burnings took place in Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom. Bishop Wareham was actually buying Tyndale's Bibles in order to place them on the bonfires. But we must remember that Martin Luther's Bible was also at risk in England. Cardinal Wolsey organised a particularly grand occasion when he sat in splendour, surrounded by 36 bishops, abbots and priors, whilst five very penitent Germans set fire to faggots and piled high the offending works of Luther.

By now Tyndale is in Antwerp and well set on his Old Testament translation. Again the phrases so familiar to us come pouring forth from his pen. It is 1525 and he is living with a good friend, Thomas Poyntz, in what was known as the English House. It was peaceful and comfortable, a centre for English traders and, probably, what we might call today, 'a safe house'. Those of you who know and admire Salman Rushdie will know what such persecution must feel like to a writer, even in a safe house.

The first five books of the Old Testament, the Pentateuch, are completed and being printed. And here I would like to pause and get to the core of my talk. Why was Tyndale so exceptional? Why is he relevant to us today?

I have already quoted from him words which are familiar to you – familiar because you know them from the Authorised Version of the Bible. That is because at least eighty percent of the AV is straight out of Tyndale. King James's Bible of 1611 was the work of several dozen scholars. The New International Version of the Bible of 1973 had a fearsome committee structure. Each book was assigned to a team of scholars, next, one of the Immediate Editorial Committee reviewed the work, then this went to one of the General Editorial Committees, then it was looked at by the Committee on Bible Translation who submitted it to a number of stylistic consultants,

two of which read every book of the Bible, before showing them to a large number of people, young and old, educated or not, ministers and laymen ... *Tyndale did this all by himself!*

'Let not your hearts be troubled', says Tyndale and we understand. 'Do not be worried or upset' say some modern versions which sounds trivial. The New International Version, after endless committee meetings, comes out with Tyndale's original phrase, 'let not your hearts be troubled'.

As a translator Tyndale was a 'maximist' – he wanted everything to come forward. This was not always possible. Ancient Hebrew is obscure. Imagine a book in a dead language where often a word will occur only once in the whole book. There are no cross references to see how it is used elsewhere. You have to guess at it. Tyndale was staunchly courageous.

In the Hebrew, the Ark was made from wood of the Gopher tree – but no-one knows exactly what that was. Tyndale settles for 'pine'. At least the ploughboy knew what he was talking about. Place names can be interesting. Moregrove and Saltdale sound terribly Gloucestershire! But no matter.

When a thousand words occur only once, fewer than four in five occur less than twenty times, we can see the problem. Naturally modern scholarship and the Dead Sea Scrolls have helped considerably.

At the same time Tyndale found that Hebrew went into English readily and easily. 'The properties of the Hebrew tongue agreeth a thousand times more with the English than with the Latin', he wrote. One reason is the grammatical form known as the 'construct'. This is the form THE + NOUN + OF + NOUN. Thus 'the beasts of the field', 'the gods of your fathers' have a nice ring about them which 'you father's gods' does not. We do this today when we want to heighten the mood. The Minister of State rather than The State's Minister. In Tyndale monosyllables dominate. Verbs are simple.

'The wise knew not, babes knew' how succinct!

Next we have Tyndale's marvellous sense of rhythm. The narrative moves steadily forward with a vigour that leaves other versions standing.

In the Authorised Version, in the Book of Samuel, King David says to God, 'When the waves of death compassed me, the floods of ungodly men made me afraid, the sorrows of hell compassed me about, the snares of death prevented me'. Tyndale has, 'The waves of death have closed me about, and the floods of Belial have feared me. The cords of hell have compassed me about, and the snares of death have overtaken me'. Tyndale keeps a run of concrete nouns and concrete verbs in strong simplicity. Waves, floods, cords, snares, and closed about, feared, compassed, overtaken. Open the Tyndale Bible at any page and this simplicity shines forth.

'This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased' says the Authorised Version. 'Thou art my dear Son in whom I delight', says Tyndale. The AV suddenly sounds rather flat. Esau sells his birthright for 'a morsel of meat', in the AV. Tyndale has him selling it 'for one breakfast' – does this not sound very modern! 'and all that heard it wondered at those things that were told them of the shepherds. But Mary kept all those sayings and pondered them in her heart'. The juxtaposition of 'wondered' and 'pondered' gives a nice balance. Luther has 'Bewiget', weighed up, the Latin Vulgate has 'conferens', brought together. Ponder, to us seems exactly right.

Whilst monosyllables dominate, Tyndale often reserves the polysyllables for the ends of the sentences. Like this from John 14. 'lest they bid thee again, and make thee recompense' says Tyndale. The AV, 'lest they also bid thee again, and a recompense be made thee'. The rhythm is lost.

Yesterday was the nineteenth Sunday after Trinity. We read the Epistle to the Ephesians, chapter four, verse seventeen. 'blinded in their understanding, being strangers from the life which is in God', says Tyndale. The Authorised Version says 'having the understanding darkened, being alienated from the life of God ...'. Tyndale is pithy.

A little further on we read 'let not the sun go down on your wrath neither give place to the backbiter' – have a look at the AV ...

In Genesis chapter four Tyndale says, 'Cain was wroth *exceedingly* and *loured*', The Authorised Version has 'Cain was *very* wroth, and his *countenance fell*'.

Clearly one could continue all evening with quotations from Tyndale. I would suggest that you will all get enormous pleasure and satisfaction from reading from Tyndale and comparing it with not only the Authorised Version but with other English Bibles.

Scholarship has advanced and new meanings come forward. What Tyndale calls a 'hedgehog' the Geneva Bible calls a 'rat' and the AV a 'ferret'. Probably we shall never know. Tyndale has 'fritters' which later turn into 'cakes'. He uses 'goggle-eyed' and 'perl-eyed', 'fainty' and 'flaggy' which all have a feeling of familiarity though they have long since faded from the dictionaries. Oh! but what about 'mizzling' for 'light rain', that's spot on.

His 'Fortune and Luck' were taken out because they seemed to imply that God was subject to chance. A pity, really.

It is now the spring of 1535 and by May it is all over. Tyndale has been arrested by the authorities in a villainous plot and imprisoned in Vilvorde Castle outside Brussels. The only writing in his hand that we have is a letter from prison asking for warmer clothes and the Hebrew Bible, grammar and dictionary. 'I suffer greatly from a cold in the head, and am afflicted by a perpetual catarrh' he writes, 'and I ask to be allowed to have a lamp in the evening; it is indeed wearisome sitting alone in the dark'. Tyndale has courage. He continues his work translating the Old Testament to the last.

We are here today to commemorate the day of his death and to mourn the loss to Gloucestershire, to England and to the World of this greatest of men.

Tyndale was led to execution in Vilworde's square where two great beams of wood had been placed in a cross. 'Lord, open the King of England's eyes' were his last words. A rope was tightened round his neck, he was strangled and, when judged dead, the Procuror General handed a lighted faggot to the executioner who set fire to brushwood, straw and gunpowder around Tyndale.

We are incredible lucky, yes William Tyndale, LUCKY! to have our Bible from you. From your hand came English in all its beauty, came the language of Shakespeare and all that has followed down the past five centuries.

Maybe the directness and spontaneity of Tyndale will appeal to the young, the ploughboys and ploughgirls of today, where the AV has not taken root, and 'open their eyes'. Let us hope.

*Rowland Whitehead*

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## Post War Bible Translations: The Good News Bible

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On October 8th I was privileged to attend the 21st Birthday Party for the Good News Bible, held at Planet Hollywood in London, hosted by the Bible Society and Harper Collins Publishers who collaborate in the dissemination of the Bible.

The New Testament of this version was first published in America in 1966 under the title *Today's English Version, Good News for Modern Man*. The cover of the paperbound edition used the mastheads of newspapers to call attention to the fact that it was as easy to read as a newspaper. In his presentation at the party, Steve Chalke, Vice President of the Bible Society, a religious broadcaster and a very compelling communicator, talked of the New Testament's being written in Koine Greek, what he described as 'tabloid Greek', a language to reach the people. The Good News Bible makes no pretences at literary style and a fair evaluation must take it on its terms.

The New Testament was an unprecedented success, beating novels such as those by Harold Robbins as a best-seller, and in 1967 a committee was established to translate the Old Testament, and the completed Bible was issued in 1976; the Translation of the Apocrypha was included in the 1979 edition of the whole Bible. The translation had the non-Christian in mind and was pitched at elementary school reading level, and it was also aimed at those for whom English was not their first language. It avowedly aimed at clarity rather than stylistic merit and is more paraphrastic than any translation covered in this series, with the exception of the version by J B Phillips.

The Preface outlines the philosophy and method of the translation: 'The primary concern of the translators has been to provide a faithful translation of the meaning of the Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek texts. Their first task was to understand correctly the meaning of the original. At times the original meaning cannot be precisely known, not only because the meaning of some words and phrases cannot be determined with a great degree of assurance but also because the underlying cultural and historical context is sometimes beyond recovery. All aids available were used in this task, including the ancient versions and the modern translations in English and other languages. After ascertaining as accurately as possible the meaning of the original, the translators' next task was to express that meaning in a manner and form easily understood by the readers. Since this translation is intended for all who

use English as a means of communication, the translators have tried to avoid words and forms not in current or widespread use; but no artificial limit has been set to the range of vocabulary employed. Every effort has been made to use language that is natural, clear, simple, and unambiguous ...’.

I give the opening of Genesis as an example of the result:

In the beginning, when God created the universe, the earth was formless and desolate. The raging ocean that covered everything was engulfed in total darkness, and the power of God was moving over the water. Then God commanded, ‘Let there be light’ – and light appeared. God was pleased with what he saw. Then he separated the light from the darkness and he named the light ‘Day’ and the darkness ‘Night’. Evening passed and morning came – that was the first day.

Then God commanded, ‘Let there be a dome to divide the water and to keep it in two separate places’ – and it was done. So God made a dome, and it separated the water under it from the water above it. He named the dome ‘Sky’. Evening passed and morning came – that was the second day’.

An unusual feature of the Good News Bible was the introduction of line drawings by the Swiss-born Mlle. Annie Vallotton. The illustrations met with a mixed reception; there were those who felt they were irreverent and inappropriate, perhaps unaware that the King James Bible contained illustrations in 1611. Those that accompany the book of Jonah are lively and, I think, effective. Readers will have to make up their own minds on this point. There follows the Good News version of Jonah’s prayer which I have quoted in previous articles:

From deep inside the fish Jonah prayed to the LORD his God:  
‘In my distress, O LORD, I called to you, and you answered me.  
From deep in the world of the dead I cried for help, and you heard me.  
You threw me down into the depths, to the very bottom of the sea,  
where the waters were all round me, and all your mighty waves rolled over me.  
I thought I had been banished from your presence  
and would never see your holy Temple again.  
The water came over me and choked me; the sea covered me completely,  
and seaweed was wrapped round my head.  
I went down to the very roots of the mountains,  
into the land whose gates lock shut for ever.  
But you, O LORD my God, brought me back from the depths alive.  
When I felt my life slipping away, then, O LORD, I prayed to you,  
and in your holy Temple you heard me.  
Those who worship worthless idols have abandoned their loyalty to you.  
But I will sing praises to you; I will offer you a sacrifice  
and do what I have promised. Salvation comes from the LORD’.  
Then the LORD ordered the fish to spew Jonah up on the beach, and it did.

By its very nature a text which sets out to be appealing to those for whom there are no hallowed terms, who probably have never read the Bible before, will arouse controversy and it would be possible (as indeed it is possible with any modern version) to list infelicities of phrasing, but as with 'Let there be light', the translators have not felt it necessary to change 'I am the way, the truth, and the life', though unfortunately Tyndale's 'Let not your hearts be troubled' (John 14.1) has become 'Do not be worried and upset'.

The opening to Hebrews which as we have seen has been translated with varying degrees of success reads:

In the past, God spoke to our ancestors many times and in many ways through the prophets, but in these last days he has spoken to us through his son. He is the one through whom God created the universe, the one whom God has chosen to possess all things at the end. He reflects the brightness of God's glory and is the exact likeness of God's own being, sustaining the universe with his powerful word. After achieving forgiveness for the sins of mankind, he sat down in heaven at the right-hand side of God, the Supreme Power. The Son was made greater than the angels, just as the name that God gave him is greater than theirs.

Romans 8.18ff certainly reads more fluently than the NIV version:

I consider that what we suffer at this present time cannot be compared at all with the glory that is going to be revealed to us. All of creation waits with eager longing for God to reveal his sons. For creation was condemned to lose its purpose, not of its own will, but because God willed it to be so. Yet there was the hope that creation itself would one day be set free from its slavery to decay and would share the glorious freedom of the children of God.

The translators of the Good News Bible have made no attempt to reflect the different styles of the originals, and there is a flat sameness throughout. Whilst Tyndale's words and phrases are still with us today and are part of the very fabric of our language, a version such as the Good News will never have a universal appeal, addressing as it does a particular niche in the market. Nevertheless, 125 million people world-wide have bought the Good News Bible, 9.25 million in Britain. There has undoubtedly been a considerable loss in terms of depth of meaning and beauty of expression, but if it is a means of introducing the Word of God to people who would otherwise never read it, then it seems difficult to cavil. Tyndale worked to bring the good news to the common man. It was his genius that created a living piece of literature and whose voice has resonated down the centuries.

*Hilary Day*

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# **'Let There Be Light'**

## **Bible translation today in Karamoja/Uganda**

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From 1985–93 I had the tremendous privilege of assisting a group of translators in Karamoja/North-Eastern Uganda in their task of producing a New Testament in their own language, Karimojong.

Our work was made easier by the fact that basic orthography rules had been established in the 1960s, and in the 1970s two different New Testaments had been produced by Roman-Catholic (R.C.) and Anglican (A.) missionaries with the help of local people. The United Bible Societies who supervised the Project, advised us first to produce a joint (ecumenical) New Testament before proceeding with an Old Testament translation.

The main difference between the 1970s editions and the new one was that now the local translators were in charge with their intuitive feel for their own language and not the missionary. My task was to assist them with checks on meaning, consistency and accuracy, having previously been trained by the Wycliffe Bible Translators.

In the following article I want to mention some of the linguistic difficulties we came across during the translation process, although in reality practical difficulties like not having an office, famine, guerilla warfare, lack of electricity and termites eating translation drafts were often the reason for setbacks.

### **1. DENOMINATIONAL DIFFICULTIES**

#### **1.1 Different sources for borrowing words**

Due to unfriendly relationships between the A. and R.C. missionaries from the 1930s onwards, the 2 Churches had developed 2 different Christian vocabularies which were reflected in their New Testaments. Generally speaking this was not due to doctrinal differences (except e.g. Jesus' 'brother' translated as Jesus' 'cousin' by the Catholics), but the languages from which words were borrowed: mainly from Swahili or English by the Anglicans, from Greek or Latin by the Roman-Catholics. Hence e.g. the word for 'church' was translated ekanisa (Swahili) / ecclesia (Greek) respectively. Fortunately by 1985 relationships had considerably improved and a team from both churches made decisions on which words to use, in this case 'ecclesia'.

## 1.2 Different key terms

Some key terms like 'the Holy Spirit' had been translated (and used in services) as 'Etau ngolo Ebusan' (The beautiful Heart) by R.Cs and 'Ekuwuam ngolo Akwangan' (The white wind) by A.s. Our preferred option would have been 'Ekuwuam / Etau ngolo Eteyaran' = life-giving wind / spirit / heart, but in the end the joint church committee insisted on 'Etau ngolo Asegan' = the clean / pure heart / spirit.

## 1.3 Is God feminine or masculine?

'Akuj' is the Karimojong word for the Creator God, grammatically feminine (as in French nouns taking *la*). The R.Cs had consistently used masculine grammatical forms with it for theological reasons ('Akuj ngolo (masculine) apolon' = the great God). The national translators however insisted that this was totally alien to the language and we used feminine forms throughout ('Akuj ngina (feminine) apolon'), except when the following noun was masculine: 'Akuj Papa ngolo Apolon' (God the great Father ...).

## 1.4 Local Term vs. foreign Term

'Doctor/healer': translated by R.Cs as 'Edakitar' (from the English 'doctor' and the name for the mission hospital), by A.s as 'emuron' (Karimojong for herbalist / witchdoctor), the translators decided to use both depending on the context; e.g. the evangelist Luke was an 'edakitar'.

# 2. DIFFICULTIES ARISING FROM THE RECEPTOR LANGUAGE

## 2.1 Verbal aspect

Like Greek, the meanings of Karimojong verb forms differ in aspect rather than tense:

- 'edukit akai' he built the house (implied: still standing)
- 'adukit akai' he built the house (implied: no longer there)
- 'abu toduk akai' he built the house (simple narrative)
- 'aduk akai' he built the house (implied: he has just completed it)
- 'aduki akai' (implied: he was building the house when something else happened)

The national translators' intuitive feel for the correct use of the various forms was invaluable for providing the reader or listener with the accurate *underlying* meaning of the text; e.g.

- 'Christ was raised from the dead' (implied: is still alive today!) 1Cor.15:20
- 'He is risen!' (implied: it has just happened) Lk.24:34
- '... tempted in that which he has suffered ...' (implied: he is no longer suffering now) Hebr.2:18



## 2.2 Unknown concepts

Although the Karimojong culture is closer to the New Testament culture than our Western culture, nevertheless unknown concepts needed to be made understood.

- No **snow** ('white as snow'): fortunately most Karimojong adjectives have their own specific intensifier, so we used 'ekwang kya' (exceedingly white).
- No **flat roof** (onto which the paralytic was carried): the Karimojong word for roof causes the reader to imagine the impossible situation of four men carrying the paralytic up a steep straw thatched roof (or possibly corrugated iron), the miracle being how they got up there and didn't break in. We used it nevertheless but inserted an illustration.
- No **bread** ('I am the bread of life'): bread is hardly known, a luxury addition rather than staple diet, used mostly by foreigners. We discussed for a long time alternatives, e.g. 'I am the rice/posho of life' and finally decided on 'I am the food of life'; an unsatisfactory solution, as one loses the red thread of 'bread' through the whole Bible (Manna, unleavened bread at Passover, 'I am the bread of life', Jesus breaking the bread at Passover, etc.).

## 2.3 More specific than Greek

The personal and possessive pronoun 1st person plural (we/our) has two forms, one including and one excluding the audience. As Greek does not make that distinction, it was sometimes difficult to decide which form to use:

- Lk.13:33 'let us build 3 huts ...' (did Peter include or exclude Jesus in the building process?)
- 1 Jn.1:5-6 'we have heard the message and announce to you (exclusive?) ... 'If we say we have no sin...(inclusive?).

## 3. BEWARE LITERAL TRANSLATION

As the translators explained to me the meaning of their drafts, it showed up some serious misunderstandings due to literal translation.

### 3.1 'Mary kept all these things in her heart'

For the Karimojong this means 'Mary held a grudge ...'. In order to reproduce the meaning of the original writer ('Mary remembered all these things and kept thinking about them), we had to translate 'Mary kept all these things in her mind'.

### 3.2 'I have come to seek the lost sheep of Israel'

The cattle and sheep owning Karimojong would understand this to be literally true. The metaphor needed to be made explicit: 'I have come to look for the people of Israel who are like lost sheep ...'

### 3.3 "Restore them in a spirit of gentleness..."

This seemed to imply the presence of an actual 'Spirit of gentleness' and the translation was therefore changed to 'restore him in a gentle way'.

## 4. BEWARE UNDERLYING FEELINGS/CONNOTATIONS

Occasionally a translated verse looked perfect, but the translators seemed to feel ill at ease or consider it a joke. When I asked them to explain *fully* how they understood a particular verse ( or what was so funny about it), only then did the underlying connotations of terms surface:

e.g. in Acts 19:16 '... they fled out of that house **naked** and wounded ...' a literal translation implies a deliberate stripping or evidence of having gone mad. So the translation had to read 'they fled from that house with **no clothes on**'.

Four years after completing the final draft, the new 'joint' New Testament was launched in May this year and received with great joy by the local Christians. We are well aware that there are shortcomings, but hope that it will cause the local Karimojong who still drive ploughs to 'know more of the Scripture'.

The work is not yet finished, and after studying Hebrew and OT exegesis the translators are now working on the Old Testament, anxious for their people to possess the whole Bible in their own language. The task is beset with many difficulties. Recently one of the translators wrote to me, 'Even though I have suffered a lot through it [translation work], I must still struggle to the end ...' – the vision of translators shared through five centuries from William Tyndale until now. The same Holy Spirit who urged him on, is still at work today – and winning against all odds.

*Sabine Burningham*

**Paley's Watchmaker: an abridged edition of Wm Paley's**

*Natural Theology*, first published in 1802

Edited and introduced by Bill Cooper

New Wine Press, 1997, (223 pp., £7.99)

William Paley was born in 1743 into the Age of Enlightenment, and age when all established tenets about God and Man, their relationship and position in the visible world were being questioned and reformulated. It was an age of skepticism and doubt; an age which attempted to put Man in control, both of the Universe and of his own destiny; an age which denied God's power or, indeed, his very existence. The issues discussed then are still debated heatedly today, and, since Darwin, have tended to polarise into a Creation versus Evolution battle. New scientific discoveries have questioned many of the principles of evolution established by Darwin and accepted over the subsequent century, and the questions are as unresolved as ever.

William Paley's *Natural Theology* (1802) was written as an antidote to the assertions of Hume, Locke and Kant, and its method is to explore the perfection of natural things, showing that this was not achieved by accident but by design: a design which issued from a Creator, and a Creator who was necessarily greater than his Creation. Cicero, in his *De Natura Deorum* (44BC) had written 'When you see a sun-dial or a water-clock, you see that it tells the time by design and not by chance. How then can you imagine that the universe as a whole is devoid of purpose and intelligence when it embraces everything, including these artifacts themselves and their artificers?' Paley expands on this analogy to examine in detail every item of the human body (eye, ear, etc.) and members of the animal and plant kingdom, showing persuasively how each is perfectly adapted to its function and place in the natural world, and how they are interdependent. He asserts and reasserts that 'The marks of design are too strong to be gotten over. Design *must* have had a Designer. That Designer *must* have been a Person. That Person is God.'

Bill Cooper has edited and abridged Paley's original, by updating the punctuation and omitting repetitions and material which Bill has deemed superfluous. Paley's 18th century English is extremely clear and surprisingly

superfluous. Paley's 18th century English is extremely clear and surprisingly 'modern' and totally accessible to today's reader. The book is a production of the Creation Science Movement, but whatever one's attitude to the different theories about the Universe and its existence, *Paley's Watchmaker* is as relevant a part of the discussion as it was when it was written, when it immediately became what today would be termed a best seller.

*Hilary Day*

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## Notices from the Chairman

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### **Christmas Broadcast**

BBC Radio 4 will broadcast on Christmas night, 25 December 1997, from 11.45pm to midnight, a special meditation, *Tyndale's Christmas*. It will include readings from the Christmas stories in Tyndale's translations.

### **Acknowledgements**

The Chairman, Patrons, Trustees and members of the Tyndale Society express their special gratitude to the following who have recently made donations to the Society's funds:

Sir Kirby and Lady Laing • Charlie Munger • Norman Tomlinson.

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## Translation Seminar

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On 17 July 1997, the Society arranged a private, exploratory, seminar on translation for invited members. Sir Rowland Whitehead, Bt, President of the Institute of Translators and Interpreters, was host. Round the table were Professor Morna Hooker, Lady Margaret's Professor at Cambridge, and New Testament translator for the New English Bible; Dr Michael Weitzman of the Department of Hebrew, University College London; Professor Lawrence Venuti of Temple University, Philadelphia, USA, the leading authority on translation theory; Josephine Bacon and David Carmona from the Institute of Translating and Interpreting, both heavily involved in those day to day activities; and myself.

We had a long and fruitful discussion of biblical and modern problems, all strongly related to Tyndale. The morning was privately tape-recorded: we intend that much for the work of the Society will come out of the experience.

*David Daniell*

### **PART 2: The Tindale Family Name**

So far as I can find no-one has focused on the Tin/Tyndales in the Tyne valley in connection with the origin of the Translator's family. His immediate ancestors now appear to be fairly surely located in Gloucester-shire at the time of William's birth widely agreed to have been in 1494. Mozley (1937) seems still to be the best general authority on the early times, updated by Overy and Tyndale (1954); but neither seek to illumine possible Tyne valley antecedents.

A summary of the often stated position regarding the earliest Tyndales is found in the footnote to the 1887 edition of Foxe's *Martyrs* by the editor Josiah Pratt:

Hugh Tyndale, a descendant of Robert, Baron de Tyndale, of Longley [Langley?] Castle, in Northumberland, settled in Gloucestershire during the wars of York and Lancaster, where he passed for sometime under the name of Hutchens, having been concerned in a quarrel between the contending families.<sup>(1)</sup>

The issues raised here include: Who was Hugh? Who was Robert? Can any dates be assigned? What occurred in the times of the civil war known as the Wars of the Roses (ca. 1455–87) that prompted his departure – if he existed? The questions about Hutchens under various spellings and the details of the quarrel; where the Tyndales came from before Gloucestershire (if, indeed, the Translator did hail from that county), and what later family history exists – I leave to others.

Apart from, possibly, the use of the name Hutchens, the rest of this notice is not substantiated on the evidence produced in the publications on the Translator – but is this any reason to dismiss the entire passage? There may be some clues, or at least starting points, which may be capable of revealing some useful facts. On this basis – and not on the basis of seeking to prove Pratt right or wrong (or, rather, his sources) – it is worthwhile seeing what may be unpicked; perhaps, even deconstructed.

Instead of debating each point and reviewing all the sources available to Pratt and others, I shall set out the family history as can now be pieced together from combining information contained in the sources here and in Part 1. With all the reservations previously referred to this can only be a 'best

guess'. What will be revealed is that there was/is confusion and some carelessness in spelling the name Tin/Tyndale.<sup>[2]</sup>

I will argue here and in Part 3 that the spelling of the name is of greater significance than has been accorded hitherto; and that thereby may be shown that there were probably more than one immigrations to Gloucestershire – probably from Northumberland, but not necessarily directly so.

Overy and Tyndale (1954) found a Hugh Tyndale in Gloucestershire, recorded at Cirencester, in 1385. This cannot be the Hugh referred to by Pratt as the dates are astray by up to a hundred years.<sup>[3]</sup> But if their spelling is reliable, he would appear to be the earliest known Tyndale in that region as the others mentioned there are variant spellings – Tindale, Tindall, and Tendale.<sup>[4]</sup> Some of the confusion can be dispersed if the assumption is granted that there could have been more than one migration of Tin/Tyn-dales into Gloucestershire; and doubly so if the Tindales and Tyndales are recognised as identifiable lines.

The suggestion here – and it can be no more than that – is that the Tyndales arrived in Gloucestershire later than the Tindales, and perhaps others with spelling variants of the name. It is the Northumberland connections which are treated here, and it will be seen that there are coincidences in dates which indicate possible direct migrations from there to Gloucestershire without intervening staging posts, though this does not preclude such possible movements – from Northamptonshire for example.

It will be seen later here that the Tindales appear to have died out in the Tyne valley in about 1233, with the reservation that the name was carried by right of the husband to 'assume' the maiden name of his wife, and by younger sons who do not figure in property transactions. But this latter situation could have produced other documentation such as wills, taxation, civil or criminal records. The adoption of the mother's surname extends the possible usage of Tindale into the next generation – to about 1273, the death of Nicholas de Bolteby (see Table 1). It should be said, however, that the variant spellings still exist (or have been reintroduced) in Northumberland and elsewhere, and the most frequently encountered appears to be the Tin-group of variant spellings. Tindal, Tindale, Tindall, Tindell, Tindill, Tindle are all in the current Newcastle upon Tyne telephone directory; but not a Tyndale.<sup>[5]</sup>

The earliest records after the Conquest have the family name of Tindale prefixed with de; and all(?) Tyndales in the Tyne valley up to the times of the Wars of the Roses also bear the same prefix. Clearly indicating Norman

French influence this prefix will be omitted in the text here to avoid repetition.

Rudder (1779) boldly proclaims that:

Robert de Tyndale had three sons, Adam, Robert, and John. Adam de Tyndale was living in 1199, and had issue by Helewise his wife, one daughter, Philippa, married to Nicholas, Baron of Bolteby, in the time of king Henry the Third.<sup>[6]</sup>  
[k.1216–72].

As will be seen, the family to which Rudder is referring had their name spelt Tindale – as the primary sources show. If, as these records show, the family name Tindale died out at this time, how could the Tyndales be descended from this source? Did the change in spelling of the name occur at this time? In Part 3 it will be seen that the name Tyndale arose apparently independently and from an entirely separate origin and may be indicative of a second line after the manner of the Delavals (see note 7).

Maybe there were other Tindales, perhaps other younger sons. But if so they are not recorded in later secondary sources though the primary source material is extensive and has been reviewed more thoroughly than Rudder had a mind to; he was, after all, not specifically addressing the question of Tyndale except as a very minor part of a much larger work.

By Norman custom a daughter would succeed her father if there was no son (though an illegitimate son of age might pose problems), and even to the exclusion of the father's brother. It was customary then, as now, for the wife to take the husband's family name, and in this manner many baronial families became extinct before the end of the 1200s, though sometimes the name was continued by descendants in the female line by assumption of the maternal family name by a younger son or by a husband of lower social standing on marriage.<sup>[7]</sup>

The records do not always reveal cadet lines, or they may have been overlooked, or the records lost. There are, then, opportunities for 'missing persons' and continuance of the family name in other places where their pre-history is not worthy of official note. A younger son with no inheritance of title or lands may simply 'disappear'. As may be seen below in Table 1, and more particularly in Part 3, such phenomena may figure in the Tindale/Tyndale trail. Furthermore, a baron was expected to provide a considerable dowry for each of his daughters and this seems to have been to the extent of two manors. Obviously, with more than one daughter and over only one or two generations the family property assets could become seriously reduced. Younger sons were less well provided-for than daughters and this meant that they tended to fall in the social scale and to remain

unmarried – and therefore to migrate. Also, not all families followed Norman procedures, as the influences of history on the natives meant that there existed a separate system (or systems) of inheritance and succession for many non-Normans until well after 1066, and Pictish (Scottish) emphasis on the maternal line had direct and indirect effects as can be seen above in the dowry system and also in provision for widows.

The administration of the Norman earldom of Northumberland carried forward many informal practices and institutional procedures from Celtic, Anglo-Saxon, and Scandinavian times. Because Northumberland maintained some political independence for several generations after the Conquest, the old institutions (including for example taxations, and land tenancies) were maintained in various degrees until at least the time of Henry II (k.1154–89) when the earldom was fully(?) incorporated into the realm of England.

### Family Tree of the Tindales to 1233.

The following table provides the recorded information available for the family of Tindales in the Tyne valley.

1. Adam (I) de Tindale d. ca. 1190-94.	= Helewise	= Robert de Cardoill 2nd.m. before 1202
2. Adam (II) de Tindale of age 1199, mentioned to 1233	= Joan	
3. Nicholas de Bolteby d. 1273	= Philippa de Tindale d. before 1257	Isabel de Tindale = William Tunstall
4. Adam de Bolteby	= Anora (diminutive of Eleanora?)	
5. Thomas de Multon	= Isabella	Eva (co-heiresses)

*Table 1*

#### 1. Adam (I)

mentioned 1165 and 1190. Held land in Langley (Pratt incorrectly writes Longley, which does not exist in Northumberland). Whether Adam (I) was a related to the Lords of Tindale or whether the 'de' signifies a place name is not known. My preference is for the latter largely because it is likely to have been adopted as a surname precisely because he (or a forebear) had come from Tindale to the area of Corbridge (such place-name surnames are seldom given or taken by people who remain in their place of birth but are often attributed to those who hail from that place).



Following the death of Adam (I) Helewise married her steward Robert (confusingly, a son of another Adam), apparently without offspring. A rather obscure sequence of fines and pardons are recorded 1196–1205 concerning Helewise and this second marriage, because after the death of her first husband Helewise was ‘in the king’s gift’. This was probably because the franchise of Tindale was commanded directly from the king’s authority.

If this is the Robert who went to Transover in Northamptonshire – as Rudder might have been persuaded into believing – then he should perhaps be a de Cardoill or a de Tindale in the earliest records in that county. No mention in the Northern records of a brother John nor of any offspring of Helewise and Robert. Neither is Adam (I) overtly credited with a baronry.<sup>[8]</sup> All in all, this Robert does not seem to be a satisfactory fit.

## **2. Adam (2)**

was under age (14?) in 1196 and in the custody of his mother, but was of age in 1199 when he paid scutage (payment instead of feudal service) to king John. Land and/or property mentioned in Warden<sup>[9]</sup>, Alrewas<sup>[10]</sup>, Haydon, and Langley. Numerous mentions in the Pipe Rolls and elsewhere up to 1233, including the return for his baronry of Langley in 1212 which Adam (II) stated he held the baronry *in capite* by the service of one knight as his antecessors had done since enfeoffed by Henry II, probably in the 1150s, after restitution of Northumberland from Malcolm IV (who succeeded to the earldom of Northumberland in 1152, and became king of Scotland in 1153 at the age of only 13) to the English crown in 1157. Possibly, therefore, the antecessors of Adam (I) were as described by Rudder as the dates fit but the relevant documents appear now to be lost. Adam II almost certainly died 1233.

The baronry of Langley ‘consisted of a group of manors and vills lying between the archbishop of York’s regality of Hexhamshire, and the lordship of Tyndale’.<sup>[11]</sup> Thus, Langley was not a single property in the early days, though later the focus of the Tyndale family was to become Langley Castle (first referred to as such 1365).<sup>[12]</sup> Note also that the ‘peculiar’ of Hexham was well within the prince bishop of Durham’s territory, and that by implication Langley was outside the lordship of Tindale – separated, indeed, by this ‘peculiar’. This simply confirms the ‘floating’ aspect of the boundaries of that lordship – see Philippa, following.

## **3. Isabel de Tindale,**

the elder sister, married Walter, son of William Tunstall of Thurland in Yorkshire, who seems to have died before 1242 and apparently without issue. These Tunstalls were of the same family as the later Cuthbert, bishop of London and Durham.[13]

Philippa, daughter of Adam (II) and co-heir with her sister Isabel; wife of Nicholas de Bolteby, who in consequence of the issue he had with his wife became entitled to the baronry of Langley *for his lifetime* together with its liberties and customs. This appears in a letter of Alexander, king of Scotland, to Henry III concerning a boundary dispute. If the baronry were not in the franchise of Tindale no such letter could have been conceived. The title could be passed on, but not displayed, through the female line, and could also be 'assumed' by the husband.<sup>[14]</sup> In this way Nicholas occurs in at least one primary document as Nicholas de Bolteby de Tindale, but this does not formally descend to his male offspring. Thomas de Multon took his mother's socially elevated name of de Lucy and who can say now whether or not their children or descendants used the name of Tindale? It is quite possible, as the pedigrees concentrate on the main lines; but the name of Tindale did not now carry a baronry and the properties were now outside the male line of inheritance, and so the name would have held very little status.

The baronry of Langley continued in the de Lucy family until 1368 when it became part of the great Percy family holdings through the second marriage of Maud (by that time, de Umfraville) to Henry Percy, the first (modern) earl of Northumberland. In 1632 it was conveyed to the Radcliffes of Dilston who on the attainder of James Radcliffe, earl of Derwentwater, ceded all his estates to the crown.<sup>[15]</sup> Dilston, as will be seen in Part 3, was intimately connected with the Tyndale name until the time of the Wars of the Roses, when it followed Tindale into extinction as the family name of a baronry.

With Isabel and Philippa, the family name of de Tindale would appear to have terminated in 1233, at least that is what the existing records indicate; though the possibility of as yet unrevealed, or lost, material must be allowed for. Even so, to attribute the origin of Tyndale the Translator to this short-lived line of Tindales cannot be supported on the evidence presently available.

Bruce Marsden

## Main Sources

The following are in addition to those in Part 1.

- T.C Banks, *The Dormant and Extinct Baronage of England ... from the Norman Conquest to the year 1806*. J. White. London, 1807.
- John Foxe, *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe*. 8 vols, 4th edition, revised and edited by J Pratt, 1877.
- B.W. Greenfield, *Genealogy of the Family of Tyndale*, privately printed, London, 1843. Numerous pages of family trees. (Greenfield was marrying into the Tyndales and was keen to establish to his satisfaction kinship with the Plantagenets).
- B.W. Greenfield, *Notes Relating to the Family of Tyndale of Stinchcombe and Nibley ...*, Mitchell & Hughes, London, 1878.

- J.C. Holt, *Magna Carta*, Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- J.F. Mozley, *William Tyndale*, 1937.
- C.Overy and A.C. Tyndale, 'The parentage of William Tyndale, alias Huchyns, Translator and Martyr', in *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, LXXIII, 1954, pp208–15. I am indebted to Dr VSC Tyndale for a copy of this document and for discussions on Tyndales outside of Northumberland; and look forward to his contributions on that subject.
- S. Rudder, *A New History of Gloucestershire*, Cirencester, 1779.

## References

1. Foxe (1887) vol V pp114–15. The remainder of the footnote does not concern us here.
2. NCH Part II Vol III, Corbridge Deanery, pedigrees and text.
3. The Wars of the Roses extended over most of the second half of the 1400s, with particular vehemence in the Corbridge district in the 1460s.
4. The spelling variants Tindale, Tindall, Tendale, can be accounted for in two ways. Firstly as phonetic representations of sounds (Gloucestershire and Northumbrian dialects are highly distinctive, as is the French nasal pronunciation which may have yielded the Ten- variant), and secondly by slight errors in transcription from other documents (e for l, double l for le).
5. The Cumbria and North Lancashire directory provides Tindal (3), Tindale (1), Tindall (18) and Tindle (2): Tyndall (1): and no Ten...s. The Northumberland directory has no Ten...s and no Tyn....s; Tindal (2), Tindale (6), Tindall (10), Tindell (1) and Tindle (7). At this distance of time any conclusion based on these facts must be of little or no value, but it may give a pointer towards viewing the spelling of the name(s) in earlier centuries.
6. Rudder (1779) writes 'Tyndale', which probably indicates a use of secondary sources or lack of discrimination, as the primary sources are firmly Tindale for these early years.
7. Hedley op cit p19 mentions the first line of Delavals (note the Norman prefix integrated with the name) of Collerton as becoming extinct before 1158, but a second line 'assumed' the name and continued to 1388. Hedley also mentions the Tindales of Langley becoming extinguished before the end of the thirteenth century, which is evident in Table 1 following.
8. The term 'baron' meant 'king's man' so all tenants in chief who held knight's service were barons, and this included earls and bishops. After the Magna Carta (1215 with revisions 1216 and 1217), increasingly the summons to parliament became the principal criterion for membership of the House of Peers, resulting in 'lesser' and 'greater' baronies. The Tindales, therefore, may be considered lesser barons by reason of their tenancies and not due to a high social standing.
9. For consistency modern spellings are usually used here for place-names.

*(References continued on page 74 ...)*

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## The Ploughboy Group

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A meeting was held on Tuesday 22 July 1997 at which the Chairman was able to present a concern. The Society already has a high academic standing, with fine conferences, seminars and lectures, and our remarkable academic journal *Reformation*. Our appeal, however, is also to the ploughboy. We met to discuss how best to present William Tyndale and the Society at the grassroots level.

David Green spoke of his experience in the Costwolds of founding a local group. Priscilla Frost strongly urged that we should be developing such groups all over the country. The Society should initiate and hold a slide library, and even lecture-notes, for local lectures; David Ireson is pursuing that on our behalf, and the making of a CD ROM on Tyndale and the English Bible. We would put to the Trustees (since agreed by them) the possibility of reducing membership subscriptions by £5 as a one-off introductory offer at local meetings. For school-children and young people, we noticed Mary Clow's excellent pack on Tyndale (details on page 72 of this Journal). Hilary Day offered to write a children's life of Tyndale to be published by the Society; she will also advise about the preparation of a press pack about Tyndale and the Society. She suggested that at our Oxford conferences time should be given for non-academic contributors to present papers, with one or more non-specialist afternoons. A call for such papers will go out to members and others. Eunice Burton pointed out that many churches are already arranging Millennium celebrations, and we should not lose time in connecting with these. She also asked if the Journal could carry, in each issue, extracts from Tyndale's writing, and a 'text for the day'.

It was agreed that this 'Ploughboy Group' should not meet at any fixed times like a committee, but work and communicate as needed. Your prayers are asked for the success of the Society's 'Ploughboy' endeavours.

*David Daniell*

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## The Tyndale Exhibition in America (concluded)

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### Washington DC (continued)

'Let There Be Light', the British Library's Tyndale exhibition, closed in Washington DC on 6 September 1997. In the twelve weeks it had been in the Jefferson Building of the Library of Congress on Capitol Hill, publicity outside the Jefferson Building, in the media and on the Internet had brought very many visitors every day. By the end, it had been seen there by 100,000 visitors. The Library of Congress staff told me that they were very sad to have to dismantle it.

Taking conservative figures for the numbers of visitors – in Bloomsbury in 1994–95 (42,000), in the Huntington Library in California in 1996–97 (32,000), in New York in 1997 (120,000), and in Washington DC in 1997 (100,000) – we find the remarkable total of 274,000. That is to say, well over a quarter of a million people travelled to pay homage to William Tyndale in this way. Carroll Johnson at the Library of Congress staff telephoned to tell me, at the end, that a number of people had made a point of seeing the exhibition in all three of the American locations.

The Trustees of the Tyndale Society acknowledge here their particular gratitude to the British Library for donating to the Society the ten large panels that were so much a feature of the exhibition wherever it was (except in New York). It is hoped that they will stay for a while in the USA, for use with local Tyndale exhibitions.

Anybody wishing to use them for such an event should contact the Society Secretary, Mrs Priscilla Frost.

*David Daniell*



*An impression of Ann Boleyn by Jo Day*

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## Letters to the Editor

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*Dear Editor,*

What a beautiful and lively journal you produce – full of meat and easy to hold – as was Tyndale’s New Testament.

Everyone that I tell about the ‘Let There Be Light’ exhibition here in DC is ready to rush over to see it. A dear friend’s gentleman admirer presented my friend with Old and New Tyndale Testaments and the ‘Biography’.

Was able to order the video ‘God’s Outlaw’ from Christian Book Distributors and enjoyed it immensely.

My poem may not be ploughing any new scholarship, but it comes from the ‘ground and low bottom of [my] heart’. (Tyndale’s translation of Luther’s Prologue to Romans).

Such a pleasure to meet Professor Daniell! Hope to meet you some day soon.

Cordially

*Grace H. Carter*

P.S. What attracts me to Tyndale’s word is its clearness, freshness and inspired poetical spirituality.

### **Moving Land**

Our friend, Tyndale, swelled the swale.  
From tongues beyond comprehension’s pale  
he drove clear cold-cleaving sentences,  
still not stale.

Ploughman, now-man, he of humble station  
can understand the Bible’s wondrous tale,  
feel familiar rhythms working  
in God’s trail.

That he might ‘fight a good fight,’  
‘swim ... in love,’ bathe in ‘let’-ins of light.  
This is not sod plodding translation.  
This is blissful, selfless trans-elation!

*Grace Hough Carter*

## From Japan

... You ask how I became interested in Tyndale. When I was a university student, I studied Milton for my graduate thesis. Reading his prose, I became interested in Church History and I studied it at graduate school. The Name of Tyndale appeared several times in the course of my study after then. When I took the class of Early Modern Europe at The University of Michigan, I wrote a paper on 'Liberty and Intolerance in the Reformation Era', in which I discussed why the assertion of liberty coexisted with that of intolerance in Luther, Calvin and Sir Thomas More. In connexion with More's intolerance, the name of Tyndale came out. When I wrote a paper on Conditionalism in Milton, Tyndale's stand as conditionalist was picked up as one of the predecessors of Milton's thought. Then being asked to write something about martyrdom by one of my colleagues at the Society of Church History in Japan, I read Tyndale's story in Foxe's Book of Martyrs, though I did not write anything on him at the time because sources I could handle were so few. Then reading the *Renaissance Society Quarterly*, I found the notice about the International Tyndale Conference, and attended the conference. That is the story of how I got to know about Tyndale.

Teaching Western Spirituality at Tokai University now, I want to make the students understand the importance of biblical impact in Western mentality as well as spirituality. Strangely enough More's life and achievement is well known to Japanese students because they learn his name in history class at High School. But they do not know about Tyndale. The film 'God's Outlaw' is nice material to use after the lecture. But Japanese students are not so good at spoken English unfortunately. So it would be a great help for them to read at least a portion of the story in English before they see the film.

*Motoko Noda*

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## Notes from the Editor

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One of our members, Sheila Donaldson, writes to ask if any member knows the present condition of the Wycliffe Memorial at Lutterworth Church. If anyone has visited the church recently, or is about to visit it, could they please write to the Journal concerning the state in which they found the memorial. Thank you.

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## New Patron

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The Society is greatly honoured to announce that Sir Patrick Neill QC has accepted our invitation to be a Patron. One of our first Life Members, Sir Patrick, a former Warden of All Souls and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, has always been keenly interested.

On the day that we received his letter of acceptance, the Prime Minister presented him at Downing Street as the successor to Lord Nolan as the new Chairman of the Committee on Standards in Public Life. We congratulate him, and wish him well.

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## Society Notes

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### 29 January – 1 February 1998

First Pacific Tyndale Conference, San Diego, California: *America's Earliest Bibles*. For details please see page 38.

### 6–9 September 1998

Third Oxford International Tyndale Conference, Hertford College, Oxford: *Tyndale's Early Years*. For details please see page 39.

*An Introduction for Children to the*  
**Life and Work of William Tyndale**  
*and the*  
**English Bible**

by Mary Clow

*Price: £3.50 from Orange Blossom Special,*  
The History Magazine for Readers over 12,  
273 South Lambeth Road,  
London SW8 1UJ



### **Revd. Anthony William Davies, 1929–97**

Tony Davies died suddenly of a heart attack on 23rd April whilst on holiday in Australia. Educated at Marlborough and St John's College, Oxford, Tony trained as a teacher at Oxford and with the CMS. Under the auspices of CMS, he went in 1954 to St Andrew's College, Oyo, Nigeria. He stayed for over ten years becoming the acting Principal. On his return to the UK, he was Head of History at Stourport-on-Severn Secondary School before moving to Culham College in 1967.

Given his qualities of gentleness, patience and wisdom, it came as no surprise when he decided to embark on a second vocation as a priest. After training and a curacy in Somerset, he spent his last years, until his retirement in November 1996, in four parishes between Oxford and Banbury, where he soon became Rural Dean of Woodstock.

### **Barbara Gwynne Manwell**

Members of the Society will be sad to hear of the death, on 19 July 1997, of Barbara Manwell. She had reached an extremely energetic 83. In the last few years, she went from North Wales to Society events in other counties, to several Lambeth lectures, and most memorably to the last Oxford International Tyndale Conference, where her presence in Hertford College delighted us all.

She was born on 27 March 1914 in Uganda – her parents were with the Church Missionary Society – under the care of Dr (later Sir Albert) Cook, who discovered the organism which causes relapsing fever. After working for a while in the Royal Household, Barbara married Liam Manwell in 1938: he was a pioneer doctor with the CMS, she was then with the Gordon Memorial Mission. At Ler in Southern Sudan, her husband (unknown to him, backed up by Barbara with a second gun) faced and shot a most dangerous, and huge, man-eating lion which was terrorising the neighbourhood: the skeleton of the thorax, she said, strongly resembled an African bee-hive, adding point to the story of Samson. They worked together in Sudan throughout the war; on one occasion they were ambushed by bandits. Liam, though wounded, ran furiously at them and they ran away. After the war they stayed on. In 1950 when their daughter Carol was four, they made an epic

stayed on. In 1950 when their daughter Carol was four, they made an epic journey on rough roads in a not-perfect 1939 Standard 9 from the Sudan to Cape Town.

Members of my family had only just come to know her well. She was born a Daniell – her father and my grandfather were brothers.

My son Chris spent a memorable day with her in Dyserth in N.Wales, where she lived an active life. The last time I met her, at the Oxford Conference, she suggested at the open session that as the much-loved Christmas readings were his, there should be a short BBC radio programme, 'Tyndale's Christmas'. This is happening next Christmas (see page 60), and it will make a tribute to her love of Tyndale's Scriptures, and her imaginative energy. We all miss her, and extend our sympathy to her daughter.

*David Daniell*

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(... continued from page 67)

10. I have yet to ascertain the exact location of this place which is not mentioned on modern maps. It was probably in the vicinity of Warden and Haydon as they are close together just to the west of Hexham where the river Allen joins the Tyne. Other contemporary spellings include Allerwash, Allerwes, Allerwas, Allerwasse; and they seem to be unrelated to Allerwascheles and Allerwasche as they are sometimes mentioned together.
11. Hedley op cit p. 231.
12. The author has made a tour of the places named in the history of the Tin/ Tyndales in the Tyne valley and this may become a later contribution to the *Journal*.
13. The Tunstall family maintained properties in Yorkshire, and the future bishop Cuthbert Tunstall held the rectory of Barmston in Yorkshire and of Stanhope in Durham, this latter being very close to Tin-Tyndale properties on the southern fringes of Northumberland. The Riddleys, too, have long been a powerful Northumberland family from near Haltwhistle and bishop Nicholas Ridley is said (DNB) to have been a relative of Cuthbert Tunstall. What links to any Tyndale of that time remains to be found, but just possibly the Translator may have had in mind ancient family connections when he sought out Cuthbert Tunstall in London.
14. Tee Part 3 for 'assumption' of the name Tyndale.
15. See Part 1 and also Part 3.

## **TOUR to the LOW COUNTRIES, 1-4 MAY 1998**

**Timeline Heritage Tours has arranged a long weekend in Belgium for members of the Society from Friday 1st to Monday 4th May 1998**

The itinerary will include such places as Bruges, Leuven (Louvain), Antwerp and Vilvoorde. We will travel by coach (with pickups in Witney, Oxford and London), departing Friday afternoon and use the tunnel or a sea crossing, arriving in Bruges in the early evening.

Accommodation will be in Nazareth, the English Convent.

On Saturday, there will be a walking tour and free time for sightseeing in Bruges. In the evening there will be a visit to 'Celebrations Entertainment' in a tastefully converted mediaeval church in the centre of the city, where we will participate in an evocative re-creation of the marriage feast in 1468 for the wedding of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, and Market of York, sister of our King Edward IV.

We shall visit the Tyndale church and Museum in Vilvoorde on Sunday, then go on to Antwerp where we shall visit the Plantin-Moretus Museum of Printing. A major tour highlight will be the demonstration of printing at this museum, using equipment not very different from that with which

Tyndale's Testaments would have been first printed. On Monday, we shall visit the old university city of Leuven, where we shall also see the mediaeval Beguinage (a kind of convent). It is hoped that Dr Guido Latré will be available to lead some of these activities, as before.

Those who came on the first tour thoroughly enjoyed themselves and the friendship and fellowship of the like-minded travellers. One lady wrote: 'I want to write at once to thank you for an absolutely splendid tour. It was way beyond my expectations.'

The cost for the tour will be £295 per person, inclusive of 3 nights' half-board accommodation, coach transport and sea crossing, all excursions and visits. Subject to the availability of single rooms at the time bookings are received, there will be no single person supplement. A detailed itinerary is available on request.

If you would like to receive more information (without obligation at this stage), please contact:

**Graham Hall, Timeline Heritage Tours,  
5 Oxford Hill, Witney, Oxfordshire OX8 6JT**

**Telephone and fax: 01993 779861**

